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Recruiting in Ireland for the American Civil War

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Ph.D. in Modern History

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1999-2000
ABSTRACT:

“Recruiting in Ireland for the American Civil War”
Caroline Margaret Rerucha
(Ph.D., Modern History, Trinity College Dublin, 1999-2000)

Corresponding economic and military concerns led to the phenomenon of recruiting in Ireland for the American Civil War. Ireland’s agricultural depression in the early 1860s spurred emigration to the United States, where military service offered training for a possible uprising against Britain. The U.S. needed civilian laborers as well as troops. Agents apparently signed up men in Ireland, or forced them to enlist in America, then took part or all of their military bounties. Despite diplomatic protests from neutral Britain, and Confederate efforts to discourage recruitment in Ireland, reports of the practice persisted throughout the war.
The thesis entitled "Recruiting in Ireland for the American Civil War" has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at Trinity College Dublin or at any other university.

Caroline Margaret Berrueco

October 28, 1999
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Recruiting in Ireland for the American Civil War depended upon conditions on both sides of the Atlantic. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, Ireland’s agricultural depression led tens of thousands to emigrate each year. Many Irish thought the fighting in America offered military training for a possible uprising against Britain. The United States, in turn, needed troops and civilian laborers for its flourishing wartime economy. The British Government remained neutral in the conflict, and opposed enlisting men in Ireland, while the Confederates attempted to discourage Union recruiters’ activities there. Coerced enlistment of newly-arrived immigrants, who often lost much of their military bounty, drew further criticism. The sex ratio of Irish emigrants did not change greatly during the war, but that does not preclude recruiting. The apparent adaptation of antebellum methods for receiving and hiring immigrants allowed agents to sign up foreigners for the military without altering the proportion of men involved.

Given the general lack of statements from such recruits, diplomatic correspondence on their situation is particularly important. Contemporary newspapers shed more light on the general phenomenon of enlisting Irishmen for the American Civil War. When individuals could be traced to certain units, military records offer further information. Secondary works tend to cover the background of recruiting instead. They emphasize Irish economic and revolutionary concerns, and military and civilian manpower needs in the U.S.
Perhaps the most detailed and colorful material comes from two main sources. One is the file at the National Archives of Ireland on suspected enlistment by officers of the U.S.S. Kearsarge at Queenstown in 1863, and by agent Patrick Finney in Galway and Dublin in early 1864. The other is a transcript of testimony in hearings on the recruiting of Finney’s men in Maine in 1864; it is available at the National Archives of the United States. The Larcom Papers at the National Library of Ireland provide considerable information as well.¹

¹ See Chief Secretary’s Office, Registered Papers, 16765 (1864)) at the National Archives of Ireland (NA/I); Record Group 110, Entry 467, at the National Archives of the United States (NA/US); and MSS. 7585, 7587, and 7608, Larcom Papers, at the National Library of Ireland (NLI).
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Prologue

President John F. Kennedy stated in Dublin in 1963 that Ireland and the United States, “divided by distance, have been united by history.”¹ The problem ninety-eight years before that was that the U.S. itself was about to be divided. America united meant Ireland Gaelic and free, or so it appeared to many observers in 1861. The American Civil War offered Irishmen jobs, military training, and the prospect of U.S. support for a possible conflict with Britain. Irish laborers who were less anxious for that experience, though, rioted in New York City against the draft.

Ireland’s agricultural depression from 1859 to 1864 in turn provided the United States with the civilian and especially the military manpower needed for the war.² It seemed that Ireland’s difficulty was America’s opportunity, and vice versa. Officials at various levels in the U.S. wanted troops, and seemed to foster recruiting in both countries to get them. The most prominent examples of recruiting involved the U.S.S. Kearsarge and an agent named Patrick Finney. Those efforts did not go unnoticed, drawing opposition from Irish observers and the British and Confederate governments.

In general, wartime Irish immigrant recruits who sought attractive Union military bounties and pay can neither accurately nor justly be termed

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mercenaries. Enlisting out of need during the distress at home, they sought not a surplus, but a sufficiency for themselves and their families. Likewise, Irishmen chose to join their compatriots in the United States instead of selecting at random a place to fight for profit. Strictly pecuniary motives would have led them to serve either Denmark or Austria and Prussia during the Schleswig-Holstein war in 1864, but they did not do so in large numbers.

Among the Irish who decided to emigrate, the sex ratio did not change markedly, as extensive military recruiting might imply. This does not contradict the idea that the Union enlisted men in Ireland. It means, rather, that new arrivals now sometimes were forced to join the service, in the same way that runners compelled them to use certain boarding-houses or transport companies before the war. Adapting those antebellum tactics would increase the yield of recruits without changing the proportion of men involved. Representatives still would have been needed in Ireland, though, to encourage prospective emigrants to join the service and to share their bounties with certain enlistment agents.

Beyond the Finney and Kearsarge incidents, there is little information on the recruitment of specific individuals among the relative numbers of Irishmen who did go to America. E.M. Archibald, the British Consul in New York, nevertheless shared the widespread public suspicion of the practice. He wrote to the British Minister at Washington, Lord Lyons, on February 22, 1864:

the separate statements of similar facts and circumstances by so many complainants, furnish a cumulative testimony in proof of the abuses and the deception practised upon them individually, which cannot be disregarded without greatly disregarding the interests of truth and justice.

Union Brigadier General Edward Ward Hinks also cited the frequent practice of signing up intoxicated men under false names, which would impede the search for information on a particular person.4

Not only names, but also birthplace statistics, or the lack thereof, complicate the study of when Irish troops enlisted. The U.S. military then noted the date a recruit entered service, but not necessarily where he was born. Ella Lonn lists a maximum of twenty-seven United States Army regiments which were, or were considered, Irish. By a generous estimate, each one might have enlisted 2,000 men, or twice its original strength, during the conflict. Those units still would have accounted for just over one-third of the Union’s 150,000 soldiers born in Ireland. Searching tens of thousands of individual service records would be prohibitive, but published rosters for those organizations might provide dates of enlistment. One then could compare the numbers of Irish enlisting at any given time with the Union’s economic developments and military fortunes of the moment. Out of the twenty-seven regiments in question, eight came from New York State. Unfortunately, however, Frederick Phisterer’s New York in the War of the Rebellion does not indicate when all soldiers entered the military.5

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in an already limited sample of Irish Union manpower virtually precludes a study of the times at which they enlisted.

Regardless of when Irish immigrants joined Union forces, one should consider the background of their enlistment. Fighting in America created a demand for men. At the same time, conditions in Ireland led to increased emigration. The story would begin with Irish affairs on the eve of the American Civil War.
By the time the American Civil War began, Irish soldiers had served for many years in America, Austria, Naples, Russia, Spain, and France, which often meant fighting Britain.\(^1\) Ballads offered further encouragement.\(^2\) Nationalism notwithstanding, Irishmen demonstrated equal courage in the British Army. The Duke of Schomberg concluded "that Irishmen, from their habits of endurance and undaunted courage, were the best soldiers [England] could find, and that, Celts and Papists as they were, her very existence as a nation might depend


\(^2\) "The Rebel Rover" (National Library of Ireland (NLI), P.J. McCall Collection, Vol. I, p. 113); "Defending the Green" (NLI, P.J. McCall Collection, Vol. I, p. 130); "Native Irish Soil" (NLI, P.J. McCall Collection, Vol. VII, p. 50); "The Green Flag" (NLI, Broadside Ballads, Vol. G); "He Was Only One of the Rank and File" (NLI, Broadside Ballads, Vol. GH); "The Minstrel Boy" (NLI, Broadside Ballads, Vol. O).
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upon their cooperation." Their British service continued in the Crimean War, again to the accompaniment of song.

After the Crimean War, Irish volunteers joined other European Catholics in defending the Papal States against Garibaldi's Italian nationalist forces in 1860. Considering the Penal Laws' linking of Catholic and Irish interests, George Fitz-Hardinge Berkeley found the Irishmen's mission logical. Ballads expressed their twin religious and national concerns, for which the "Song on the Irish Brigade's" fanciful green uniform with a cross on the breastplate, and a shamrock and a harp on the cap, was an allegory. Major Myles O'Reilly, a County Louth militia officer and a future member of Parliament for County Longford, ultimately commanded about 1,300 volunteers who left Ireland for Italy in small groups from March until June 1860. Because British volunteers also left to fight for Garibaldi, Dublin Castle authorities could only announce on May 16 a fine and imprisonment for enlisting in a foreign military force.


5 Berkeley, Irish Battalion, pp. 8-11, 16-18.


The Irish who reached Italy fought well at Perugia (September 13), Spoleto (September 17), Castelfidardo (September 18), and the siege of Ancona (September 12-29), but the Papal troops lost each battle. Irishmen serving at Ancona were repatriated to Ireland after the city fell. Lacking communication from the front during the nineteen-day conflict (September 11-29, 1860), enthusiastic songwriters incorrectly anticipated a triumph for the Papal forces, and composed fanciful descriptions of battles and nonexistent victories. Several Irish Papal veterans subsequently participated in the American Civil War, which began less than seven months after Ancona surrendered.

Though they would fight for the Pope and for America, Irishmen remembered their own country, organizing the Fenian movement in 1858. James Stephens hoped to harness Irish political and military discontent to achieve national independence. After organizing and drilling the young

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artisan and clerks who comprised the Irish Republican, or Revolutionary, Brotherhood in Ireland, he visited the United States in autumn 1858 to raise funds. There he made John O'Mahony the Head Centre of the group's American branch, later known as the Fenian Brotherhood.13 O'Mahony then helped establish various militia units whose members were ready when war began in 1861, and Colonel Michael Corcoran of the 69th New York State Militia acted as the deputy Fenian leader when O'Mahony left for Ireland in 1860-61.14

Stephens, in setting up his Irish and American operations, followed the example of Europe's 1848 revolutions and Continental military threats to Britain rather than the constitutional approach of The Nation's A.M. Sullivan and Irish National League founder John Martin. The Fenian leader, though, probably shared Martin's expressed faith in Ireland's capacities "if only that damned flag of the foreigner were banished from her shores."15 The Roman Catholic clergy criticized the secret, oath-bound Irish Republican Brotherhood; Sullivan and William Smith O'Brien of Young Ireland did likewise, because the revolutionary group, for political and religious reasons, could not openly seek popular support. Those two men acknowledged, however, that achieving Irish


independence might require physical force. O'Mahony nevertheless said he and other 1848 supporters felt let down by such leaders, whom he termed "the effete school of constitutional agitation." Militant as the movement was, Consul Frederick Lousada in Boston did not find it "worth serious consideration," although officials in Canada closely watched the group's activities.

The American Civil War, which included many Fenians, in some ways resembled earlier conflicts involving Irish troops. U.S. recruiters at times would imitate their British predecessors, who used force or intoxication to induce men to take the King's shilling. Ballads such as the "Tipperary Recruiting Song" reflected public suspicions: "So never to 'list be in haste, my boys,/ Or a glass of drugged whiskey to taste, my boys." Beyond impressment tactics, Britain's recruiting of a "Foreign Legion" in the neutral United States for the Crimean War foreshadowed American efforts in Ireland. Persons bringing men to recruiters would receive $4; the men themselves would obtain free passage to the seat of war, plus food, clothing, $8 [sic] per month, and a £6 bounty on reaching Halifax, Nova Scotia. William Mure at the British Consulate in New Orleans, however, feared that paying
Recruits soon protested unfulfilled promises of employment and officers’ commissions, which presaged attractions offered to Irishmen during the Civil War. The Irish in America led the tide of public opinion against the enlistments. Following President James Buchanan’s official complaints, Britain ended the practice to bolster Anglo-American relations. Gladstone, who saw some grounds for U.S. objections and British discomfiture, hoped to strengthen the two countries’ ties. The enlistment furor declined as sectional disputes over slavery occupied Americans’ attention.

Irish Papal troops, like Crimean War recruits before them, and especially their Civil War compatriots after them, experienced disillusionment over broken enlistment promises. Poor food, shabby uniforms, and inadequate supplies of water and bedding straw hurt morale, as did low wages and late payment of enlistment bounties. Contractors’ inefficiency and profiteering, and disaffection stirred up by Italian nationalist and British agents, exacerbated the problem. Berkeley indicates that recruiters’ misrepresentations invalidated the unspecified oaths some men took before leaving Ireland. Consequently, about

21 Poster from Niagara, Jun. 4, 1855 (British Library (B.L.), Egerton MS. (Eg.) 2972, f. 355); William Mure to Joseph Howe from the British Consulate in New Orleans, La., Mar. 29, 1855 (ibid., ff. 261-262); Howe to Nova Scotia Lieutenant Governor Gaspard Le Marchant from Halifax, N.S., May 8, 1855 (ibid., ff. 217-231); Captain Strobel to John G. Crampton from Melville (n.p.), May 14, 1855 (ibid., ff. 24-27).

22 John Trumbull to Crampton from Cincinnati, Ohio, Jun. 7-8, 1855 (B.L. Eg. 2972, ff. 50-51); H.P. Jorgenson to same from New York, Sep. 3, 1855 (ibid., ff. 122-123); Maxi. A. Shoman to same from New York, Sep. 3, 1855 (ibid., ff. 124-126); Julius Parkins (probably to Crampton), n.p., n.d. (ibid., ff. 130-131); Frederick Poshner to Crampton from Cincinnati, Ohio, Sep. 21, 1855 (ibid., ff. 399-400); Crampton to Le Marchant from Washington, Nov. 23, 1855 (ibid., ff. 166-168).

23 Mure to Howe from New Orleans, Mar. 29, 1855 (B.L. Eg. 2972, ff. 261-262); Crampton to Le Marchant from Washington, June 1855 (ibid., ff. 42-49); same to same, n.p., Jul. 28, 1855 (ibid., ff. 96-103); same to same from Washington, Aug. 13, 1855 (ibid., ff. 108-113); same to same from Washington, Aug. 26, 1855 (ibid., ff. 114-121).

200 discontented Irishmen at Spoleto and Ancona declined formal enlistment and returned home. Of those leaving Spoleto, Berkeley observes that they

... had been enlisted on the voluntary system, which, in the middle years of the nineteenth century, meant that any imaginable lie might be told, and in this instance there is not the slightest doubt that such lies certainly had been told, at all events by the subordinate agents probably accustomed to the ordinary methods of recruiting. Some of the men had come out relying on deliberate promises -- such as that of a commission which could not possibly be fulfilled ... .

He adds that the Irish who left Ancona probably were misled about bounties by "some of the [recruiting] agents in Ireland [who] had undoubtedly exercised the customary licence to its utmost limit. ..." Papal General de La Moriciere's July 1860 telegram to his Minister of Arms, Monsignor de Mérode, cited the "unreasonable" and "wildest promises" made to them.25

Although recruitment embittered some Papal and Crimean War volunteers, Fenians embraced the American Civil War because of the prospects for training and for an Anglo-American conflict. Corcoran remarked, "... this [war] is a splendid school for military training," and Brigadier General Thomas F. Meagher agreed.26 Fenians could pursue such opportunities more openly in America than in the British service.27 Corcoran Legion recruiting posters which read, "Irishmen, you are now training to meet your English enemies," expressed

their ultimate objective. Federal officials hoping to gain Irish votes hinted at U.S. participation in or support for a postwar fight with Britain, particularly after the Union Navy seized Confederate diplomats from the British ship Trent in 1861. That struggle never developed, though.

Preparing to face Britain led many Irishmen to serve in the Northern and Southern forces. Diarmuid O'Donovan Rossa commented that when he reached New York in 1863, "All the Fenians seemed to be soldiers or learning to be soldiers." Examples in the Union Army included:

- **Brigadier Generals** Thomas F. Meagher, Michael Corcoran, Thomas A. Smyth, and Thomas W. Sweeney;
- **Colonels** James A. Mulligan (23rd Illinois), John O'Mahony (99th New York Militia), John H. Gleason (63rd New York), and Matthew Murphy (Corcoran Legion);
- **Captains** Laurence O'Brien (9th Connecticut), Thomas J. Kelly (10th Ohio), John O'Neill (17th U.S. Colored Infantry), and James McKay Rorty (staff);
- **Surgeon** Dr. Laurence Reynolds (63rd New York);

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Rank not known  Michael O'Brien, who served in a New Jersey regiment.  

Dr. Reynolds served as the Center, or head, of the Fenian Circle in the Army of the Potomac; Captain Rorty was the Circle's Secretary. Such groups tended to have both social and political activities. The Irish Brigade, Corcoran's Legion, and O'Mahony's 99th New York Militia, among other units, had several Fenians. According to William D'Arcy, Southern Generals "Semmes, Stewart, 


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Brown, Clinton, Gordon, Preston, Tylor (sic), and Taylor," General Beauregard, and Captain John McCafferty reportedly backed the movement as well.33

Civil War observers cited the enduring nationalism which Stephens hoped would lead Fenians in both armies to fight in Ireland. Captain D.P. Conyngham of the Irish Brigade staff described Irishmen who would disregard mortal danger "if it were for the poor old dart," and O'Donovan Rossa said of several Irish in the war, "All dead now, and many more dead, who with their last breath, wished it was in a fight for Ireland against England they were dying."34

Thomas Clarke Luby made the first Fenian recruiting visit to America in spring 1863, during which he probably was the speaker at a remarkable occasion. Another Fenian, Lieutenant Thomas F. Galwey of the 8th Ohio Infantry Regiment, escorted a newcomer to Dr. Laurence Reynolds; Stephens had sent that visitor over to examine the movement in America:

33 Other Union Army Fenians included General Thomas F. Burke; Colonels Dennis F. Burke (88th N.Y.), Patrick J. Downing (42nd N.Y.), ----- Malloy (17th Wisconsin), Thomas J. Mclvor (69th N.Y.), and Bernard F. Mullen (35th Indiana); Lieutenant Colonels James Kelly (69th N.Y.), Patrick Leonard (Phoenix Brigade), and John Byron (88th N.Y.); Majors John P. Dufficy (35th Illinois), P.F. Hannan (Phoenix Brigade), and James Kavanagh; Captains T.B. Bourke (9th Massachusetts), Patrick J. Condon (63rd N.Y.), ----- Deasy, Denis J. Downing (97th N.Y.), James M. Fitzgerald (10th Ohio), Rudolph Fitzpatrick, James Murphy (20th Massachusetts); Daniel J. Mykins (55th N.Y.), Charles Underwood O'Connell, William O'Shea, Daniel Quirk (23rd Illinois), P.F. Walsh (84th Pennsylvania), John Warren (63rd N.Y.), and Francis Welply (Corcoran Legion); First Lieutenants Thomas Galwey (8th Ohio), Hugh D. Gallagher (35th Indiana); Rank not known Richard Doherty (35th Indiana), Michael J. Hefferman (14th U.S. Infantry), Patrick O'Neil (U.S. Engineers), P.T. Sherlock (23rd Illinois).


A few nights later... a joint meeting was held in a ravine not far from Falmouth [Virginia]. A sentry was posted at either end of the opening and the two delegations, one in gray and one in blue, after swearing to an oath before entering not to discuss the American Civil War, met in the center. They silently shook hands and the Irish emissary discussed the various points at which the vast Fenian Army, made of Union and Confederate Fenians, would later strike against England.35

Stephens himself visited U.S. Army Fenians in 1864. Receiving a sympathetic welcome, he presented a very encouraging picture of Irish developments.36

Many Irishmen in the Northern forces actively pursued Fenian goals. Several of them attended the first Fenian convention in Chicago in November 1863, and General Meagher sent a telegram expressing his support.37 D'Arcy states that the meeting "virtually" established the Irish republic. Echoing O'Mahony, the delegates also asserted "the utter futility of LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATIONS, PARLIAMENTARY 'POLICIES,' and all similar delusions." (original emphasis)38

When still more militant Fenians held Chicago’s Fenian or “Grand Irish National Fair” approximately five months later, Stephens attended it. Members of the 9th Illinois, 10th Ohio, 97th New York, and other units donated money to the event. Colonel James Mulligan of the 23rd Illinois, a regiment called the “Western Irish Brigade,” did likewise. Civil officials such as Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, Governor Richard Yates of Illinois, and Governor Stephen

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Miller of Minnesota furnished friendly or openly sympathetic statements, sometimes accompanied by contributions. By the time Fenians next gathered in Cincinnati, Ohio in January 1865, growing military and political support helped to raise their enrollment to 273 circles with about 10,000 members. O'Mahony at that meeting described Stephens' Irish Republican Brotherhood, which particularly needed money, and the Fenian conventions. For the time being, those two groups would take the place of Ireland's army and assembly, respectively.

There are mixed views on how going to the American war affected the organization. R.V. Comerford indicates that the Irish agricultural depression in the early 1860s mainly involved farmers, who did not join the movement; emigration during the hard times thus did not weaken popular support for Stephens' group in Ireland. Contemporary Fenians believed otherwise, though. On May 31, 1865, U.S. Army Captain Thomas J. Kelly wrote with care, "... from the immense emigration taking place we will lose our best customers and workmen if we do not open the factory this fall." Luby had encouraged Fenians already in Union forces, but his editorial in the Irish People, the Fenian newspaper in Dublin, on January 23, 1864 termed the Irishman emigrating to enlist "a miserable hireling" serving "in a cause and a quarrel in which he has

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40 D'Arcy seems to suggest that there were 10,000 Fenians in America in early 1865. Comerford states that there were 50,000 Fenians in Ireland in 1865; Miller also cites the figure of 50,000. D'Arcy, Fenian Movement in the United States, pp. 44-51; Comerford, "Gladstone's first Irish enterprise," in Vaughan, Ireland under the Union I, pp. 434-437; Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, p. 336.

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no concern on earth." John O'Leary, too, regretted Irish casualties in a foreign conflict.42

Fenian leaders themselves recognized the quandary these men outlined. Stephens, for example, urged O'Mahony to enlist in order to maintain the latter's influence as a Fenian leader in a future Anglo-American conflict. On the other hand, Stephens asked, "How many of the best of our race shall be sacrificed in this way? And they, poor dupes and victims, shall be all the while dreaming that they are serving their native land!" Colonel Corcoran stated that Fenians in his 69th New York State Militia in 1861 had a service obligation. He recommended, however, that civilian Fenians not enlist; they would be needed in Ireland and numerous Irishmen outside the movement wanted to join the service. Fenians who nevertheless chose to enter the military should join Irish units, Corcoran said.43

When the war ended in spring 1865, many Irishmen who were discharged from the U.S. Army went to serve in Ireland, where they were recognized by "their felt hats and square-toed boots."44 Rev. Randal McCollum in County Cavan wrote on March 13 of that year, "There is an alarm spreading about Ireland being invaded by Fenians -- the wild Irish ruffians from the United States -- They are plotting Some mischief and arms are being conveyed over to


43 O'Donovan Rossa, Rossa's Recollections, pp. 286-288 (Stephens: "dupes and victims"); Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers, pp. 112-113; Boyle, A Party of Mad Fellows, pp. 24-27.

Belfast and Dublin -- So it is said -- "(original usage) In County Cork, W.J. O'Neill Daunt noted in June 1865 a 1 a.m. visit from an "American Fenian" in "a sort of a military uniform" who thought Daunt opposed the movement.45 The authorities in Ireland arrested several American veterans in 1865 for suspected Fenian activities; many others were detained under the 1866 Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. In July and August 1866, however, Secretary of State William H. Seward, U.S. Minister Charles Francis Adams in London, and the Foreign Secretary, Earl Clarendon, arranged their release, provided the men returned at once to the United States.46 Those troops had planned during the war to travel to Ireland; at the same time, thousands of Irish hoped to leave for America.

45 Diary of Rev. Randal McCollum, Mar. 13, 1865 ("wild Irish ruffians") (NLI, microfilm entry p7619); Daunt Diary, Jun. 26, 1865 ("American Fenian") (NLI, MS. 3041).

WHY LEAVE IRELAND?

The Irish fought nature while Americans fought each other in the early 1860s. Following drought in 1859, Ireland experienced heavy rains and flooding in 1860-62. A mild winter succeeded the dry spring and summer of 1863, and summer 1864 was drier still. Crops declined accordingly. Compared to average yields for 1856-58, hay was down 16% in 1859, turnips 35% in 1860, flax 12% and potatoes 58% in 1861, barley 17% in both 1861 and 1862, wheat 38% and oats 19% in 1862, potatoes 11% in 1863, and turnips 12% in 1864.¹ U.S. diplomats feared that the low harvests which boosted imports from America also might lead to famine.² Irish observers had similar concerns, as Catholic landowner W.J. O’Neill Daunt in County Cork wrote on October 10, 1861:


² Samuel C. Talbot to Secretary of State William H. Seward, No. 11, Oct. 22, 1861, and H. Keenan to same, Feb. 22, 1862, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 3, National Archives of the United States (NA/US); West to Seward, No. 25, Jan. 23, 1863, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US.
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Tremendous weather. The bridge over the Phale at my gate was swept away by last night’s flood. The harvest is wretched. Potatoes and corn are failures. The turf cut on M---- [illegible] bog has in a great measure been carried off by the flood. The coming winter will be severe.

In County Cavan, a Presbyterian minister, Reverend Randal McCollum, commented in February 1863, “Since the famine years -- 1846-8 there was no[t] so great a pressure for money.”

Most of Ireland, though not quite all of it, suffered during the agricultural decline. The Union blockade of the Confederacy’s ports and cotton actually stimulated the Irish linen trade, based largely in Ulster, but the country produced wool and other textiles as well. Belfast shipbuilding remained strong, with Harland & Wolff constructing approximately twenty vessels from 1861 to 1864. Less industrialized regions of Ireland faced greater problems. Waterford’s Munster Express regretted that Cork’s carpenters and joiners, whose employment dropped by more than half, had to appeal for money to send their longest-unemployed colleagues to America.

Tenants also encountered difficulties. One priest found distress exceeding that of the Famine in West Connaught, where many in the early 1860s risked eviction and starvation because of the “[h]igh rates, exhausted

\[\text{\footnotesize \text{\textsuperscript{3}} Diary of W.J. O’Neill Daunt, Oct. 10, 1861 (National Library of Ireland (NLI), MS. 3041); diary of Rev. Randal McCollum, Feb. 4, 1863 (NLI microfilm entry p7619). See also Hansard\textsuperscript{3}, cxix, 591-601, and Leitrim Gazette and County Advertiser (Mohill), Nov. 19, 1863.}\]


\[\text{\footnotesize \text{\textsuperscript{5}} Michael Moss and John R. Hume, Shipbuilders to the World: 125 Years of Harland and Wolff, Belfast, 1861-1986 (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1986), pp. 20, 22-24.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize \text{\textsuperscript{6}} The Munster Express (Waterford), Mar. 7, 1863; Limerick Southern Chronicle, Jan. 28, 1865; The Times, Feb. 3, 1865.}\]
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land, three bad seasons, and no work." An anonymous County Donegal correspondent feared that Lord Leitrim and John George Adair would continue to seek rent from tenants who might not be able to pay it after losing potato and corn crops in the wet season of 1862.7 On April 15, 1863, The Times printed a letter in which Reverend M. Lyons of Skibbereen stated that rent payments aggravated the distress.8

Diet there in Cork and elsewhere throughout Ireland during the hard times in the early 1860s emphasized meal and often lacked meat, fruits, and vegetables. In 1859, a Poor Law Commission study in all Irish counties but Longford and Carlow revealed that sixty-two percent of families ate meal daily at a weekly average of 8 lbs. of meal per adult. That average rose to 10 lbs. in eighty-four percent of the families south of the Dublin-Limerick line.9 Dr. Edward Smith in 1863 found that the United Kingdom's poorest laborers, including fifty-five families in Ireland, supplemented the ubiquitous potato between crops with an average of 10 1/2 lbs. per adult per week of cheap, nutritious meal. He summarized the weekly diet for families in the following counties:

**County Tipperary:** (family of six): 7 lbs. flour, 56 lbs. Indian meal, 196 lbs. potatoes, 24 pints skimmed milk

**County Galway:** (family of three): 14 lbs. flour, 70 lbs. Indian meal, 14 lbs. oatmeal, 12 pints milk

**County Armagh:** (family of five): 18 lbs. bread, 14 lbs. flour, 14 lbs. Indian meal, 20 lbs. oatmeal, 28 lbs. potatoes, 3 1/2 pints milk, 42 pints buttermilk, 2 lbs. butter, 2 dozen eggs, 1 1/2 lbs. bacon, 1 1/2 lbs. meat (not specified), 4 oz. tea, 4 oz. coffee, 1 1/2 lbs. sugar

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8 The Times, Apr. 15, 1863.

Local conditions illustrated nationwide distress. People on Sherkin and Cape Clear Islands near Cork had less than one week’s food supply, and some ate seaweed, while persons in West Connaught families consumed approximately 1 to 2 oz. of Indian meal per day. From County Cork, the Catholic Bishop of Cloyne, the Most Reverend Dr. William Keane, wrote in his 1863 Lenten Pastoral: “We regret, beloved brethren, to be forced to say, that Lent, or no Lent, fasting will be this year the rule for the greater number of the working classes. . . . we need not exhort them to the practice of fasting, which has already become a matter of stern, unavoidable necessity.” Stamford’s Member of Parliament, Lord Robert Cecil, commented in 1865: “. . . when the Irish people believe the testimony of their stomachs, and disbelieve the testimony of the Chief Secretary’s figures, they are right and he is wrong.”

Many in Ireland found remedies at home for hunger and need. Landlords offered some employment, for example, when they improved their estates. John Francis Maguire, M.P. for Dungarvan, County Waterford, and the Commissioners of the Irish Board of Works praised such efforts. Prime Minister Palmerston and Limerick M.P. Colonel Samuel A. Dickson joined Maguire in recommending Government loans for private projects, repayment of which would have appealed to Members advocating Irish self-reliance. Useful Government-funded relief works favored by Maguire, King’s County M.P. John Pope Hennessy, and others were important as well, although some feared those jobs might encourage dependency in Ireland.

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11 The Times, May 27, 1862, and Jul. 1, 1863.
12 Hansard 3, clxix, 598 (Keane); clxxvii, 717 (Cecil).
14 Ibid., clxv, 79-80; clxvi, 1146-49; clxxvii, 661-73, 687-9, 702-8, 779-85.
Irish people in need could rely on help from each other, on domestic donations of money and fuel, and on foreign contributions.\(^{15}\) John Francis Maguire, Myles O'Reilly, M.P. for Longford, and Kildare M.P. William Cogan feared that optimistic representation of the country's condition by Government officials such as Robert Peel, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dissuaded potential donors in Britain and Ireland.\(^{16}\) Contrary to the Chief Secretary's 1862 claim that Americans' support for the Irish was "very much like the victories of the Federal army, which are very much talked of, but are very little seen," U.S. civilians actually sent considerable aid. Numerous meetings in New York City and Chicago by spring 1863 raised money for Ireland.\(^{17}\) Among Union troops, Brigadier General Thomas Francis Meagher's Irish Brigade led parallel relief efforts. Members of the 88th and 63rd New York and other units contributed for Ireland $1240.50 (£248-2s.), which Father William Corby of the 88th sent to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, John Hughes, in May 1863. More money would follow.\(^{18}\)

From 1859 to 1864, widespread need not only attracted foreign assistance but also drove up Irish relief figures, which tapered off as farming conditions improved. Concerns about expense, dependency, and difficulty of administration led authorities to limit outdoor relief, so workhouses, where the

\(^{15}\) The Times, Jan. 1 and Feb. 19, 1862; Mar. 3, 1863; and Mar. 6, 1865; Northern Standard (Monaghan), Nov. 23, 1861; Sligo Champion, Apr. 5, 1862; Hansard 3, clxv, 80-4, 558-65, 578-81, 590-1, 866, 1244-5; clxvi, 2099-2107; clxix, 604-6; Coulter, The West of Ireland, pp. 75-76.

\(^{16}\) Hansard 3, clxvi, 1168-72, 2099-2107; clxxi, 842-844; clxvii, 777-9.


strict system was thought to discourage inmates from returning, provided much of the support. The Irish people themselves strongly disliked the workhouse. Dublin’s Roman Catholic Archbishop, Paul Cullen, in 1859 branded the prospect of that institution “the greatest insult you can offer a decent poor person in Dublin,” and three years later called the North and South Dublin Union Workhouses “[t]he huge Bastilles -- those ovens of corruption which disgrace the north and south sides of our city.” John Francis Maguire reported that the Most Reverend Dr. Gillooly from Roscommon and the Bishop of Galway, the Most Reverend Dr. John McEvilly, found that Ireland’s poor considered starvation and even death less intimidating than the workhouse.

Given that outlook, many Irish emigrants preferred to go to wartime America. Irish Poor Law Commissioner Edward Senior had already remarked in 1855, “[E]verybody has one leg over the Atlantic.” William B. West, the U.S. consul in Galway, saw the progression from crop failures to distress, and then to emigration.

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19 Hansard 3, clxvi, 1161-7, 1172, 1180-2; clxix, 725-6; clxxiii, 1831-42, 1845-71, and 1878-9; Chris O’Mahony, “The Poor Law Comes to Limerick,” The Old Limerick Journal 10 (Spring 1981): 20.


21 Hansard 3, clxv, 556, 559; clxxiii, 1886-91.

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TABLE 2.1: IRELAND: RELIEF AND EMIGRATION, 1859-1866

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average daily numbers on indoor and outdoor relief, 1859-66</th>
<th>Annual emigration from Ireland, 1859-65</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1859-60 41,291</td>
<td>1859 80,599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-61 45,412</td>
<td>1860 84,621</td>
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<tr>
<td>1861-62 50,276</td>
<td>1861 64,292</td>
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<tr>
<td>1862-63 61,873</td>
<td>1862 70,117</td>
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<tr>
<td>1863-64 66,062</td>
<td>1863 117,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864-65 64,556</td>
<td>1864 114,169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-66 62,161</td>
<td>1865 101,497</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More Irish may have turned to the United States when the Union naval blockade of the South caused unemployment in Britain’s cotton industry.24

While serving in Virginia in 1863, Color Sergeant Peter Welsh of the Irish Brigade’s 28th Massachusetts explicitly stated Ireland’s connection to America:

What would be the condition today of hundreds of thousands of the sons and daughters of poor oppressed old erin if they had not a free land like this to emigrate to famine and misery staring them in the face and that famine not the result of any extraordinary failure in the products of the soil but the result of tyrannical laws and damnable oppression . . . . (original usage)25

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Why Leave Ireland?

War offered the Irish economic as well as military opportunities. According to some observers, America needed foreigners because the military absorbed native-born manpower. Immigration was encouraged to meet agricultural needs. Consul West promoted farming and urged Federal authorities not to require that immigrants claiming land first declare their intentions to become citizens; the resulting military obligation might discourage them from coming, he thought.

The new arrivals pursued industrial as well as agricultural work. Lucrative occupations for them during the conflict included construction of ships and boats, and of additional railway connections to large cities. Manufacturing, especially of war materiel, expanded. Building construction offered some work, but was hindered by high taxes on land and by building-material prices which rose faster than rents did. Business declined temporarily in the North when fighting began in 1861, as Ulster emigrant William McSparron wrote in August: "the times is miserable in this contery... this rebellion has stopeed all publick
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works and men is going about in thousands that can't get any thing to do". (original usage) Archbishop Hughes in New York seemed to suspect that Northern business owners falsely emphasized hard times early in the war in order to get their Irish workers to enlist. Iver Bernstein disagrees, however, because reducing the pool of personnel would have raised the wages those companies had to pay. Confederates described persistent job shortages in the Union to turn foreigners away from there, but that effort failed.29

Following the first years of the war, U.S. employers often turned to contract labor under the July 4, 1864 "Act to [E]ncourage Immigration," which regulated newcomers' work agreements. Firms could recover expenses through deductions from those employees' pay, or through liens on their property. The law thus formalized labor recruiting of Irish immigrants in New York City through emigrant societies, private agencies, and even the New York State Commissioners of Emigration.30 Beyond that, foreigners arriving after the act was passed were not liable to military service during the war if they did not renounce their former allegiance and declare their intentions to assume U.S. citizenship. That exemption could encourage people to come to America.31 The measure also provided for enforcement of the Passengers' Act concerning


shipboard conditions, but did not affect the authority of the New York Emigration Commissioners.32

When firms sought skilled workers in Europe, United States consuls in Galway and Dublin had already recommended hiring the Irish.33 The American Emigrant Company, a private group, received a commission on each rail and steamer ticket it sold, and fees from U.S. employers for each skilled worker brought from Europe or forwarded from New York. Suspicions of military recruiting, distrust of reports of wages and costs, and problems with enforcing contracts hampered the Company, however, which failed to find enough personnel in Ireland to meet its needs.34 The Foreign Emigrant Association in Maine and other groups also wanted employees. George S. Harris, land commissioner for the Hannibal and St. Joseph (Missouri) Railroad, wrote in 1863 that U.S. railways' labor needs were a "full and complete remedy for the 'famine for employment' in Ireland . . . ."35 Some civilian firms' pay and arrangements resembled those of the military, leading Earl Russell to think Irish immigrants were meant to enlist.36

There are mixed views about the United States' demand for workers during the war. Congress and the press promoted that need, and Secretary of State Seward's August 8, 1862 circular directed American diplomats abroad to

33 Henry B. Hammond to Seward, No. 25, Sep. 22, 1862, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 3, NA/US; West to Seward, No. 18, Oct. 11, 1862, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US.
34 Erickson, American Industry and the European Immigrant, pp. 9-11, 13-17, 19ff., 46-49.
do likewise. U.S. Consul-General John Bigelow in Paris, though, suspected that that document contributed to enlistment. Emerson Fite believes that most Union troops, who often came from rural areas, also were too young to have had industrial jobs to leave. He acknowledges foreigners' contributions in those positions, but observes along with others that machinery and the efforts of American women boosted manufacturing and harvesting as well. Fite also considers it unnecessary to have stimulated immigration to save crops in those years.

Abstract prosperity translated into concrete industrial and agricultural wages high enough to draw the Irish to America, even in wartime. Immigration from Ireland to the United States rose almost 174% between 1861 (23,797) and 1864 (63,523). America's non-farm daily wage climbed nearly 43% over 1860 levels, and building-trade wages 61%, during the conflict; farm workers earned in gold 64¢ (2/6) with board and 90¢ (3/6) without board per day by 1866.


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Common laborers in Indianapolis, Indiana, made $1.50-$1.75 per day by 1864, instead of $1 per day before the war. In New York City, average daily wages increased 14% to 60% from 1861 to 1863:

- **for blacksmiths:** from $1.75 to $2.00 (7/- to 8/)
- **for common laborers:** from $1.00 to $1.25 (4/- to 5/-)
- **for bricklayers:** from $1.25 to $2.00 (5/- to 8/-)

Those occupations paid three to five times more than similar jobs had in Ireland in 1854. Rather than working twelve to sixteen hours a day for 10/- to 16/- ($2.50 to $4) a week at home, Irishmen could earn $8 to $13 (£1-12s. to £2-12s.) per week in America, according to an emigration advocate in New York in December 1863. Weekly board of $3 (12/-) might allow them to send their families $10 (£2) and keep another $10 themselves each month.

Wages were strong, but prices sometimes increased even faster. In New York City during the first two years of the conflict, the cost of a dozen eggs rose from 15¢ to 25¢ (7d. to 1/-); that of a bushel of potatoes went from $1.50 to 2.25 (6/- to 9/-). The same quantities of eggs and potatoes sold for 20¢ and $1.25 (9d. and 5/-) in Indianapolis in 1864, or two times and five times their prewar prices, respectively. The Civil War economy had drawbacks as well as attractions.

As civilian wages grew, so did American military pay, which emigrants from Ireland would have welcomed. Lieutenant John Winterbotham of

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41 "A Poor Man" to the Indianapolis (Ind.) Sentinel, n.d., quoted in The Daily Ohio Statesman (Columbus, Ohio), Apr. 29, 1864; Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions in the North, pp. 184-186 (New York City); Burke, The People and the Poor Law in Nineteenth-Century Ireland, pp. 160-161.


43 Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions in the North, pp. 184-186 (New York City); "A Poor Man" to the Indianapolis (Ind.) Sentinel, n.d., quoted in The Daily Ohio Statesman (Columbus, Ohio), Apr. 29, 1864; Cole, The Impressive Conflict, pp. 360-361.
Corcoran’s Irish Legion wrote about payday in early 1864, “Many a poor fellow exalted (sic) in the thought of how much good his $26 [two months’ pay for a private] would do his Bridget, his Mary or his Biddy at home in New York . . . .” U.S. Army privates earned $3.25 (13/-) per week (46¢ (1/9) per day) until June 1864, when they received $4 (16/-) per week (57¢ (2/3) per day). Weekly wages for a “farm man” at Kilbrittain Castle, County Cork, in 1864 and 1865 were 5/6 ($1.38) (1 ld. (23¢) per day); other laborers and servants were paid less. Each worker there apparently got a Christmas bonus of 1d. at most. In County Cavan, Lord Farnham gave his laborers beef at Christmas.

American troops were both well-fed and well-paid. James Kyle, an Irishman in the 17th Connecticut, wrote to his sister on February 28, 1863, “you sead times was hard in Iraland times is good with unkel sam thair is plenty of hard tack and pork that is the [staff] of Life with us” (original usage) The U.S. Army’s daily rations included bread, meat, and vegetables:

- 18 oz. bread or flour, or 12 oz. hard bread, or 20 oz. meal;
- almost 3 oz. beans or 1.6 oz. rice (or approximately 1.5 oz. dried potatoes or 1 oz. mixed vegetables twice a week);
- 12 oz. pork or bacon, or 20 oz. fresh or salted beef;
- 1.6 oz. coffee or 0.24 oz. tea, 2.4 oz. sugar, approximately 2 oz. vinegar, and 0.32 oz. salt

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45 Kilbrittain Castle Wages Book, 1864-65 (Cork Archives Institute (CAI), MS. U262); Diary of Henry Maxwell, 7th Baron Famham, Dec. 24, 1861, and Dec. 24, 1863 (NLI, MSS. 19,115-19,116).
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Union soldiers received more vegetables and meat than did the Tipperary family cited in Dr. Smith's 1863 study, who subsisted on potatoes and flour or meal. Members of that Irish household, though, drank more milk. Prospective emigrants might have liked the American military's good pay and food, but the relative conditions -- a peaceful six-day workweek at home, versus a seven-day workweek abroad where people shot at you and you got no Christmas bonus -- probably were less attractive.

It is likely that friends' and relatives' positive reports from America further stimulated Irish emigration during hard times. John Quinlan in Chicago wrote home on February 27, 1863, offering to pay his brother's passage and to get him a job in Chicago, where a man had just purchased property which "is his Estate free of any charge for Ever." Later that spring, Michael Garrett reported from Portland, Maine: "It is a splendid country -- fine wages, and every meal we sit down to is as good as your Christmas dinner." Union soldier John McFarland in Virginia in March 1864 also praised prospects in the United States, saying,
"... if a man cannot do well in America he will not do in any Country ---" (original usage)\(^{49}\) The remittances which often accompanied such letters gave the Irish still more encouragement to seek those opportunities.\(^{50}\)

In the 1860s, public as well as private opinion noted how Ireland and its people could benefit from emigration to the U.S. Prime Minister Palmerston and Chief Secretary Peel agreed with Consul West in Galway that individuals could do better abroad.\(^{51}\) Others considered overpopulation Ireland’s true problem; they believed a declining census would lower poor rates and raise employment and wages. Diet, clothing, and living conditions would then improve, particularly with the help of emigrants’ remittances.\(^{52}\) Home Secretary Grey and The Times further thought that Ireland was better suited for pasture than for crops.\(^{53}\)

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\(^{51}\) Hansard 3, cxxvii, 708-17 (Peel), 821-7 (Palmerston); West to Seward, No. 29, Mar. 28, 1863, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US; same to same, No. 66, Jun. 4, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), NA/US. See also The Times, Nov. 20, 1863.


\(^{53}\) Hansard 3, cxxvii, 800-7 (Grey); The Times, Apr. 6, 1865.
America's economic promise not only drew official interest across the Atlantic, but also seemed to foster possible recruiting. In spring 1863, the Irish public already had suspicions when the United States' Dublin consul, Henry B. Hammond, encouraged emigration. Consul West, who succeeded Hammond there, even suggested that Irishmen might enlist in exchange for free passage. He wrote a book and newspaper articles as well to promote America as a destination. In official correspondence in May 1862, West contrasted the two countries' economic conditions:

... the Cars and Vehicles from [Galway] are daily taking numbers to Dublin, Cork, Liverpool &c. whence they take shipping to our land of plenty, from this wretchedly impoverished district, in which there are thousands of young men and women, who sigh for food and employment in the U.S. and [would] gladly embrace any opportunity of removal from the misery & starvation they are enduring here.

His 1863 reports reiterated popular interest in bright prospects in the U.S., and in June 1864 he again cited distress in Ireland. West observed that the Irish people wanted so much to go to America that they might revolt if Britain attempted to block emigration there.

Recruiters recognized Ireland's military potential, just as diplomats had. Details will be given later of Boston businessman Jerome G. Kidder's efforts in 1863 and 1864 to sign up Irish laborers, during which Kidder instructed his

54 Hammond to Seward, No. 41, Apr. 23, 1863, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.
55 West to Seward, No. 54, Apr. 2, 1864, and No. 67, Jun. 11, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.
56 West to Seward, No. 9, May 3, 1862, and Galway American, May 17, 1862, enclosed in same to same, No. 11, May 26, 1862, and same to same, No. 21, Nov. 15, 1862, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US.
57 Same to same, No. 11, May 26, 1862, No. 25, Jan. 23, 1863, No. 28, Mar. 21, 1863, and No. 29, Mar. 28, 1863, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US; same to same, No. 66, Jun. 4, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.
agent, Patrick H. Finney, to offer the men “a low rate not very much above the going rates in Ireland.” Finney’s reported comment that he could not help it if his emigrants found enlisting “the best thing they could do” suggests that Kidder sought recruits. William Pike, Finney’s clerk in Dublin in early 1864, added that Finney instructed him to tell potential laborers about how much more they could save with high Army pay and enlistment bounties, which would make civilian work less attractive by comparison. Whether in the private sector or the military, good wages in America attracted emigrants.

Economic reasons persuaded some Irish to leave for the United States, but tremendous Civil War casualties could dissuade others. For example, Union and Confederate losses amounted to 26,134 at Sharpsburg (Antietam), Maryland, in 1862, and 51,112 at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in 1863. Those in Ireland believed Irish troops enlisted out of need and became U.S. Army cannon fodder. In Waterford, The Munster Express often commented on “our infatuated peasantry, on their way to America, to be shot.” In April 1863, the same idea likely led Thomas Lenane of the Cork Constitution to reject Consul West’s promotion of the United States, writing, “I can [print] no thing (sic) that

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58 Kidder to Finney, Dec. 17, 1863 (National Archives of Ireland (NA/I), Chief Secretary’s Office, Registered Papers (C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864))).
60 Thomas L. Livermore, Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America, 1861-65 (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1900; reprint; Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Press, 1986), pp. 92-93 (Sharpsburg), 102-103 (Gettysburg).
would coax our people across the Atlantic now." (italics original)\textsuperscript{61} Those who were not emigrating themselves nevertheless were concerned. W.J. O'Neill Daunt's distant relative, Captain Coventry of the 11th Hussars, described heavy fighting in America in 1864 as "all killing and no strategy." Numerous observers, whether Union or Confederate, agreed.\textsuperscript{62}

Newcomers could suffer even without enlisting. Critics charged that President Lincoln's Administration violated civil liberties, although other observers disagreed.\textsuperscript{63} In October 1862, Britain's Quarterly Review said the wartime suspension of habeas corpus proved that Americans, like the Irish, were not free. The New York Times, however, considered that legal step more justified during an actual civil war than it had been with an uprising still in prospect in Ireland in 1848.\textsuperscript{64} In addition, recruits' families faced economic hardship both at home, as Consul West reported from Galway, and in America. Munster Express editor Joseph Fisher believed 30,000 Irishwomen lived in difficult circumstances in New York City after their men were forced to enlist.


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Judge Keogh in Cork went farther, estimating that 65,500 of the 108,911 Irish-born paupers in New York were women.65 Those figures notwithstanding, others continued to leave Ireland; perhaps they felt they "could fare no worse in the States," as one man remarked during the war.66

Many reasons besides immigrants' distress kept some from going. Even with the prospect of military training for Fenians, Thomas Clarke Luby wrote in the *Irish People* on January 23, 1864, "The Irishman, who now goes out to join the Federal service, necessarily goes to fight in a cause and quarrel in which he has no concern on earth." Luby probably also wrote the *Irish People*'s statement two weeks later: "It is the duty of Irishmen to live in Ireland, possibly to die for Ireland, rather than to leave for America, probably to die for America." In early 1865, *The Nation* in Dublin bluntly echoed that potential emigrants were needed more at home.67 Thousands nevertheless went to America, where some Fenians hoped to find greater social freedom, but Ireland's clergy foresaw moral hazards instead. Although some attributed that concern to a loss of funds resulting from a loss of followers, U.S. soldier Maurice Woulfe's 1863 observation would have given substance to such fears: "This [Washington, D.C.] is the most wicked place I ever saw for cursing, blasphemy, and other immoral

65 *The Munster Express* (Waterford), Jun. 18, 1864 (Fisher); *Morning Herald*, n.d., cited in *The Munster Express* (Waterford), Apr. 16, 1864 (Keogh); West to Seward, No. 11, May 26, 1862, and No. 25, Jan. 23, 1863, in *Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway* (T570), NA/US.


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habits. They don't care for priests here nor never care about going to Mass and Confession." (original usage)⁶⁸

Extensive Irish emigration raised more general concerns than the spiritual fate of an individual. William Pollard-Urquhart, M.P. for Westmeath, observed in 1864 that "... now it was more an exodus than an emigration, and an exodus from any part of the United Kingdom denoted a screw loose somewhere."⁶⁹ In Ireland, land tenure and use encouraged many to leave, and others to seek to reform the land law. Emigration increased the consolidation of smallholdings; that practice in turn could boost emigration. Others chose to go when more land was converted to pasture, and when harsh landlords acquired property under the Encumbered Estates Act.⁷⁰ Concerning Chief Secretary Peel's emphasis on the rising number of livestock in Ireland, Lord Robert Cecil remarked, "... he no doubt looks forward to a period more peaceable and more comfortable for himself, when it will be sheep and not Irishmen over whom he will have to rule. ... under those circumstances he will probably be able to fleece them more easily."⁷¹ Irish emigrants, presumably unshorn, eagerly

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⁶⁹ Hansard 3, cxxiii, 1854 (Pollard-Urquhart).


⁷¹ Hansard 3, cxxvii, 708-17 (Peel), 718 (Cecil).
sought higher wages in America. The Homestead Act of May 20, 1862 offered another powerful attraction.

If conditions at home influenced the emigrants who pursued those opportunities, the emigrants affected their home country. Gladstone thought Ireland needed greater *per capita* wealth, but Waterford City M.P. John Blake and John Pope Hennessy, M.P. for King's County, said those who left took away their ability to produce wealth and to purchase British-made goods. Lord Robert Cecil cited the loss of recruits as well, which nonetheless paled in comparison to the emigrants' bitterness toward Britain. Clonmel M.P. John Bagwell remarked, "... although they might at present hear only the faint murmurings of such feelings, still the time might come when the result would astonish this country, and might affect the whole of Europe."

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74 *Hansard* 3, cxxi, 832-6 (Gladstone); cxxiii, 1831-45 (Blake and Hennessy); cxxvii, 702-8; *New York Times*, Jun. 11, 1865.

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What troubled numerous observers was the fact that most of those leaving were Ireland's "bone and sinew" -- strong and well-dressed young men and women who often were farmers, farm workers, or farmers' children, and who sometimes lacked skills. In March 1864, Reverend McCollum mentioned the departure of "95000 (sic) of the peasantry and middle orders . . . within the last year." Emigrants tended not to be the poorest members of society, or else they likely could not have gone. Some, however, feared that those young people would still become the world's menial laborers. Ireland's illiteracy rate was 39% in 1861, and almost 90% of the Irish who did leave came from agricultural backgrounds. The lack of formal education led many to seek employment in sewing and clothing manufacturing in New England and

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77 McCollum Diary, Mar. 2, 1864 (NLI, microfilm entry p7619); Cork Examiner, n.d., quoted in The Times, Apr. 21, 1862; West to Seward, No. 25, Jan. 23, 1863, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US; Dundalk (Louth) Democrat, Apr. 20, 1861; Fitzpatrick, "Emigration, 1801-70," in Vaughan, Ireland under the Union I, p. 577.

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New York, public works, domestic service, livery-stable jobs or cab driving, and other labor Americans refused to do.\(^79\)

Whatever their future occupations would be, emigrants first required transport, and friends and relatives often sent tickets or money for it. The Atlantic Royal Mail Steamship Company's steerage fare from Galway to Boston and New York between 1861 and 1863 was approximately £6-6s. to £6-10s., with a £2 fee per person. In summer 1863, the Cunard Line's third-class passengers paid £3-15s. each to sail from Liverpool to New York via Cork "with a full dietary."\(^80\) American consuls were widely rumored to provide free passage, and landlords sometimes cleared estates by assisting tenants with the expense of their travel. Poor Law aid for workhouse inmates to emigrate during the Civil War years, however, reached a maximum of only 0.008% of Ireland's total emigration in 1864 (969 of 114,169) and 1865 (846 of 101,497).\(^81\) Although the Cunard, Guion, Inman, and Montreal Ocean lines provided additional steamers,

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\(^80\) West to Seward, No. 43, Aug. 15, 1863, in *Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway* (T570), NA/US (Cunard; "full dietary"); same to same, No. 49, Aug. 22, 1863, and No. 73, Aug. 27, 1864, in *Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin* (T199), Roll 4, NA/US, and *Dundalk* (Louth) Democrat, Apr. 20, 1861 (A.R.M.S.); *New York Times*, Mar. 27, 1864; *The Times*, Apr. 6, 1863; *Sligo Champion*, n.d., quoted in an unnamed newspaper, Aug. 1863 (NLI, MS. 7585, Larcom Papers).

those vessels were fully booked for up to six or eight weeks in advance, forcing a temporary halt in ticket sales.82

Britain's and America's respective Passenger Acts did not always improve conditions for people who eventually succeeded in boarding ships. Consul West wrote to Secretary of State Seward on March 21, 1863 about the barque *Hiawatha*, which had just left Galway for New York with "132 passengers and a few tons of scrap iron":

On examination of the hold or hull, in which are the berths, made of rough boards, to contain four adults each, I could find no mode of ventilation whatever provided by tubes or otherwise, which in rough weather, such as would necessitate the closing of the hatches, would seem to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of life, or at best cause such a foul air as would produce Ship-fever (sic) and other sickness, either on board or after landing at Castle Garden, when they are thrown on the care and expence (sic) of our government.

For a fare of £4-10s., each adult passenger received part of the food needed for the voyage.83

Most emigrants sailed to New York, where finding housing, transport, and work could present problems. After "runners" attracted new arrivals' business with varying degrees of coercion, boardinghouse-owners might hold baggage as security for the exorbitant rent, or give immigrants jobs paying a pittance to put toward their ever-growing arrears. Next, some railway and canal agents

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either rejected tickets foreigners had already purchased for destinations farther inland in America, or demanded still more money to accept them. In addition, false weighing sometimes magnified baggage charges. Such practices led New York State to establish its Commissioners of Emigration (sic) in 1847. The Commissioners opened the State Emigrant Depot at the former harbor fortification and concert hall of Castle Garden, at the south end of Manhattan, in 1855.

After reaching New York, immigrants were processed at the Emigrant Depot. Castle Garden registered the new arrivals; allowed them to eat, write letters, meet friends, and collect waiting letters; helped them to arrange inland transportation without duress; and, after they claimed their baggage, transported them free of charge to the appropriate railway or steamer station to begin their journey. If necessary, the New York Commissioners of Emigration found jobs for penniless newcomers, or advanced money on their baggage, then forwarded the baggage when the sums were repaid. Consul West and

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Britain's Emigration Commissioners praised the facility during the Civil War; its labor service in those years mainly provided servants for the New York City area. For lack of money and farming knowledge with which to settle in the West, Irish immigrants generally remained in Eastern cities, where they found poor housing and difficult living conditions.

Ballad lyrics not only reflected why those people left Ireland, but also prepared them for what they might face in America. Limited employment and widespread need drove many Irish to seek prosperity abroad. They found opportunity in the U.S., where "[t]hey say there's bread and work for all./The sun shines always there." Other verses praised the food and drink, and prospects to work, travel, and meet women, but the songs in general say

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nothing about female immigrants' opinions of American men." The new country, "[a] land never cursed by the spoiler/ Far over the wide ocean's foam . . . ," offered the Irish much lower rents and taxes, without the exacting landlords, the high poor rates, and the tithes supporting the Established Church at home. Ireland itself could benefit, too. The United States, where "the cruel Cross of England's thraldom is never to be seen," might one day inspire and support efforts to achieve independence.

Not everyone prospered in the U.S., however. Kerby Miller, Bruce Boling, and David N. Doyle describe the sense of exile felt by Irish immigrants, who faced the religious and ethnic discrimination mentioned in songs. Rough, unfamiliar surroundings could exacerbate the depression they sometimes felt, as "Lament of the Emigrant" indicated: "... stranger forms surround us now,/ and features new and strange/ Gaze on me with indifferent brow --/ Great God,

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Broadside Ballads, NLI: "The Irish Emigrant; Or, I'm Sitting on a Stile, Mary" (Vol. IJ); "The Irishmen Now Going to America" (Vol. N).
91 P.J. McCall Collection, NLI: "The Irish Girl's Song" (Vol. I, p. 81); "The Irishman's Home" (Vol. IV, p. 121); "Farewell" (Vol. V, p. 117).
Broadside Ballads, NLI: "Campbell's Farwell (sic) to Ireland" (Vol. C); "The Irishmen Now Going to America" (Vol. N); "Poor Pat Must Emigrate" (Vol. P).
92 White Collection, TCD: "America's Address to Ireland" and "Our Own Flag of Green" (Vol. II, Nos. 10 and 52).
P.J. McCall Collection, NLI: "Smashing of the Van" and "Ireland a Nation Again" (Vol. IV, pp. 88, 198); "Wearing of the Green" and "The Shamrock and Stars" (Vol. VII, pp. 135, 139).
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how great the change!"93 Those remaining in Ireland missed their homesick
countrymen and longed for their return; some of the latter planned to come
back, but many never would.94

Although immigrants such as those described in ballads performed
needed wartime work in America, they remained social outsiders whose Irish
nationalism received little real support from the United States. Consider, for
example, the Irishman in the Union Army who surrendered his flag when a
Confederate soldier demanded it of the "damned Yankee" in combat in 1864.
The Northern soldier did so because it was the first time anyone called him a
Yankee during his twenty years in America. Thomas D'Arcy McGee also
remarked in 1865 that Union recruiters' anti-British rhetoric led Fenian
sympathizers in the U.S. to "mistake . . . the surface slang of two or three great
cities for the settled national sentiment of the American people, which is not . . .

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93 Kerby A. Miller, Bruce Boling, and David N. Doyle, "Emigrants and Exiles: Irish Cultures
and Irish Emigration to North America, 1790-1822," Irish Historical Studies 22 (Sep. 1980): 97-
105, 118-121; Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, p. 324.

P.J. McCall Collection, NLI: "The Emigrant's Farewell, for 1865" (Vol. IV, p. 135); "No One
to Welcome Me Home" and "Where the Beautiful Rivers Flow" (Vol. V, pp. 127, 166); "Send Me a
Letter from Ireland," "Erin, My Own, My Native Land," "The Memory of the Dead," "No Irish Need
Apply," "Dreaming of Katty (sic)," and "Cushlamachree" (Vol. VII, Nos. 122, 151, 172, 191, 196,
210).

Broadside Ballads, NLI: "The Exile of Erin," "The Exile's Farewell," and "Farewell to
Ireland" (Vol. EF); "The Shamrock Shore" (Vol. G); and "Lament of the Emigrant" (Vol. L-Mac).

Sam Henry Collection, NLI: "The Shamrock Sod No More" (Vol. I, No. 235); "The
Irishman" (Vol. III, No. 712).

94 Broadside Ballads, NLI: "Avourneen," "Lamentable Lines on the Dreadful Shipwreck in
America . . . ," and "Pulling Down of the Chapels . . . " (Vol. A); "The Irish Mother's Lament for Her
Emigrant Son" (Vol. JJ).

McCall Collection, NLI: "The Emigrant's Letter to His Mother" (Vol. I, p. 76); "Teddy
O'Neal," "Send Back My Barney to Me," and "Terence's Lament for Norah" (Vol. VII, pp. 29, 159,
207).

Sam Henry Collection, NLI: "The Happy Shamrock Shore" (Vol. I, No. 69); "Glen O'Lee,
"Maguire's Brae," "Farewell to the Banks of the Roe," and "Och, Och, Eire, O! (A Song of
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one whit more pro-Irish than it is pro-Japanese."95 New arrivals in the United States faced danger as recruits, poverty as recruits' families, or moral risks as individuals, but Irishmen would continue to leave home to fight in America.

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THE GOOD SHIP SHAMROCK

Whether they set out from Ireland before or during the conflict, the Irish in America both supported and protested the war effort. The U.S.S. Shamrock illustrated this dichotomy. The U.S. Navy, out of gratitude for Irishmen's service in United States forces, christened a new gunboat with that name, and launched it on St. Patrick's Day in 1863. Four months later, the authorities had to guard the Shamrock against the protesters during the largely Irish draft riots in New York City. Immigrants from Ireland played just as complicated a role throughout the conflict.

It is important to consider the Irish community in America when studying wartime emigration and enlistment. Far from being mercenaries who chose an anonymous foreign field on the basis of fighting and finance, Irishmen coming over during the Civil War chose a familiar environment. Their countrymen's home in the United States both attracted and welcomed them. The Irish already in America enlisted for much the same reasons as later arrivals did: training to fight Britain, along with some interest in money. When the initial enthusiasm wore off, the resulting draft proved to be unpopular with the Irish. Union military recruiters then looked abroad for men to fight alongside their compatriots in the U.S. forces.

No such augmentation was needed in 1861, when America’s Irish enlisted at once to defend the United States. The tide of patriotic enthusiasm won over Young Ireland leader Thomas Francis Meagher and others who had previously sympathized with the South. Meagher, in taking his new stand, demonstrated the gratitude he expressed at an 1846 Dublin banquet for the masters of famine relief ships from the U.S.:

For the first time in her career, Ireland has reason to be grateful to a foreign power. Foreign power, sir! Why should I designate that country a foreign power, which has proved itself our sister country? England, they sometimes say, is our sister country. We deny the relationship -- we discard it. . . . But if, in the vicissitudes to which all nations are exposed, danger should fall on the great Republic, and if the choice be made to us to desert or befriend the land of Washington and Franklin, I, for one, will prefer to be grateful to the Samaritan, rather than be loyal to the Levite.

He also would fight to regain Ireland’s western province of Connaught if it seceded.2

Meagher and New York’s Roman Catholic Archbishop, John Hughes, successfully urged the Irish to enlist out of appreciation for the opportunities and liberty their new country offered. That nation displayed some nativist prejudice as well. Such bias led one bystander to say, as the 9th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment left Boston for the war in 1861, “There goes a load of Irish rubbish out of the city.” A song written for Tony Pastor, a popular nineteenth-century Irish performer, reflected the link between nativism and the Civil War:

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Though fools may flout and bigots rave, and fanatics may cry,
Yet when they want good fighting men, the Irish may apply,
And when for freedom and the right they raise the battle-cry,
Then the Rebel ranks begin to think no Irish need apply.

Undeterred by discrimination, Meagher told largely Irish meetings in New England in fall 1861, "Now you have the hour of vengeance and victory. You can be the saviors of the country and the chastisers of sectarianism."3

Ireland's people in the United States, like others born abroad, sought to maintain their ethnic reputation, to find adventure, and to win military promotion. Many also shared Americans' hopes to preserve the Union.4 Irishmen adapted readily to military service, which many of them hoped would lead to a postwar Anglo-American conflict that would free Ireland. John T. Doyle told the Irish Brigade at their November 1861 flag presentation to "remember that you toil

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4 Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy, pp. 70-74, 76-79; Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers, pp. 42-45, 50-58, 60, 67-71.
and fight, and endure and labor for two countries . . . "5 Serving under leading countrymen such as Meagher, Michael Corcoran, James Shields, and Robert Patterson reinforced ethnic identification and pride among the Irish, as well as their support for the Union war effort, which often happened with immigrant groups. Corcoran in particular had earned prominence and a court-martial for refusing to parade his 69th New York State Militia Regiment when the Prince of Wales visited New York City in 1860. Once the Civil War broke out, New York State authorities dropped the proceedings against him.6 The U.S. Navy had prominent officers of Irish descent, too, including Alfred Thayer Mahan and Rear Admiral Charles Stewart.7

There is some question as to whether Ireland’s immigrants and other foreigners joined Union forces in proportion to their share of the North’s population. Perhaps Democratic sympathies during a Republican administration, or a lack of desire to fight fellow Irishmen on behalf of nativist

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Americans, discouraged some Irish enlistments.\textsuperscript{8} Since Civil War training to fight Britain could kill or wound many potential Fenians, still others with revolutionary goals preferred to serve neither North nor South, but Ireland.\textsuperscript{9} The Irish were 1,611,304, or 5.98\%, of the total white U.S. population of 26,922,537 in 1860. If they formed the same percentage of the Union states' white population of 19,888,564 in 1860, and of the 2,000,000 to 2,300,000 white soldiers whom Frederick W. Dyer, James McPherson, and James Geary estimate served the United States, there should have been 119,600 to 137,522 Irish-born U.S. troops.\textsuperscript{10} The North apparently had almost 150,000 Irish soldiers.\textsuperscript{11} In the Union Navy, the situation tended to be somewhat different. David Riggs cites Ella Lonn's statement that although foreigners were only about 20-25\% of the Union Army, they were 25\%-50\% of a typical Union warship's crew. That meant 43\% in the case of the U.S.S. Cairo, for example, where 11\% of the sailors -- the largest single ethnic group -- were Irish. The


latter figure was almost twice their proportion of the population, as described above.12

Along with their descendants, those who came from Ireland made up twenty-eight regiments of about 1,000 men each, and about twelve companies or batteries with approximately 100 men each, in the Union Army. Not all the troops were males, though. Jennie Hodgers, an emigrant from Clogher Head, disguised herself as a man and served in the West as Private Albert D.J. Cashire or Cashier in Company D, 95th Illinois Infantry Regiment. Twelve Irish regiments were in the East in the Army of the Potomac.13 The second largest ethnic group in the service, next to Germans, the Irish were valuable because of their high spirits and interest in fighting. George Cary Eggleston's observation about some Irish Confederate troops would seem to apply equally well to their Union counterparts: "Anything which assumed the form of law they violated as a matter of course, if not, as I suspect, as a matter of conscience, but the direct command of even a corporal was held binding always. . . ."14

Prompt enlistment helped in some degree to reduce prejudice against the Irish as a group. Within two weeks of the fall of Fort Sumter, at Charleston, South Carolina, on April 12, 1861, Chicago, New York City, and Cincinnati,

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Ohio, had Irish military units. Civil War service likewise contributed to the status of individual Irishmen such as Patrick Henry O'Rorke, an 1861 West Point graduate who was promoted to Colonel and was killed in action at Gettysburg in 1863. To honor the service of Irish and Irish-American troops, the U.S. Government named Fort O'Rourke (sic), Fort Corcoran, Fort Haggerty, and Fort Cass for their officers. Those posts were located in the defenses of Washington, D.C., on the Virginia side.

Perhaps the most famous Irish military organization was Brigadier General Meagher's Irish Brigade. It began with the 69th, 63rd, and 88th New York Infantry Regiments, and the 28th Massachusetts and 116th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiments joined it later. Irish Brigade volunteers came from Chicago, Illinois; Brooklyn, Buffalo, Albany, and Troy, New York; and Jersey City,


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New Jersey, as well. Armed during much of its service with smoothbore muskets, which fired the musket balls and buckshot called "buck and ball," the Irish Brigade often fought at close range.

Colonel Michael Corcoran went to war with two other prominent units. He led his old 69th New York State Militia Regiment, the original 69th New York, at the First Battle of Bull Run, Virginia, on July 21, 1861. There the regiment lost 97 of its men killed or wounded; its Colonel and another 94 of his troops were captured. Released from a Confederate prison in summer 1862, Corcoran became the brigadier general commanding the Irish Legion, which comprised the 155th, 164th, 170th, 175th, and 182nd New York Infantry Regiments. He died in a riding accident in Virginia in December 1863.

In the Union Army, several other Irish regiments were less well-known. Colonel James Mulligan’s 23rd Illinois Infantry Regiment was called the “Western Irish Brigade.” His men fought well at the siege of Lexington, Missouri, from September 12 to September 22, 1861, but had to surrender to the Confederate forces.

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Confederates there.21 Other Irish units in the Union Army were the 9th Massachusetts, 37th New York ("Irish Rifles"), 90th Illinois, 10th Ohio, 9th Connecticut, and the Hibernian Guards in the 8th Ohio. In 1861, the original three-months volunteers included the 24th Pennsylvania. That organization developed from a prewar Irish militia regiment, and members of the 24th went on to form the 69th Pennsylvania, which served throughout the war.22

As some observers feared, Irishmen did fight Irishmen in America, beginning in 1861. Corcoran's 69th New York State Militia encountered Irish longshoremen in the Louisiana Zouaves at First Bull Run, and Mulligan's soldiers of the 23rd Illinois met their compatriots at Lexington, Missouri. In Virginia in 1862, the 9th Massachusetts faced the Charleston Irish Volunteers (Company K, 1st South Carolina) at Gaines' Mill, the 88th New York fought the Louisiana Tigers at Malvern Hill, and Irishmen in Cobb's Georgia brigade fired on the Irish Brigade at Fredericksburg. Southern troops at Fredericksburg recognized the Irish Brigade by the sprigs of green boxwood in their caps, which drove one Irish Confederate to remark, "Oh, God, what a pity! Here comes Meagher's fellows." Ironically, men of the Charleston Irish Volunteers also guarded Colonel Corcoran when he was held prisoner in Charleston, South Carolina. The body of an Irish Brigade officer even was returned to Union lines

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for burial in 1864 when an Irish soldier from Georgia recognized the Brigade affiliation by the number of the officer's regiment.23

Among the many signs of Irish troops' ethnic heritage, perhaps green flags were the most characteristic. The 9th Massachusetts carried the Stars and Stripes as a Union Army unit. Limited to one other banner, the regiment chose to carry its green ensign, rather than the state one. Confederates at Fredericksburg also noticed the 28th Massachusetts' "green flag with the golden harp of old Ireland." President Lincoln had visited the camp of the 69th New York Infantry in Virginia earlier in 1862, just after the unit's hard fighting in the Peninsular Campaign there. He kissed a corner of the regimental banner and said, "God Bless the Irish Flag (sic)."24 It is interesting to note that the Irish 28th Massachusetts and the German 20th New York used the same slogan, "Clear the Road." The former read, "Faugh a Ballagh," and the latter read "Bahn frei."25

Symbols of Ireland were not restricted to flags. In spring 1862, the harps and shamrocks featured on the green banners also decorated Irish Brigade camps. The 1st Division of the 2nd Corps received a red trefoil as its badge in 1863, and members of that Brigade proceeded to add a smaller green shamrock to it. Other distinguishing marks for Irish troops included green


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hatbands, sashes, and trouser stripes.26 As one might expect with so much attention to symbolism, St. Patrick’s Day was a major event for Irish units; a Corcoran Legion officer termed it “an Irishman’s second Fourth of July.” They usually celebrated it with banquets, music and dancing, horse races, and foot races and other contests.27

To the consternation of Irishmen in the Union forces, their Confederate compatriots defended the South. Some Irish believed in state sovereignty, and thought that slavery limited black labor competition. Ella Lonn observes, however, that they also were about the only Southern whites willing to work with or for blacks before the war.28 Other Irishmen favored gradual emancipation. Confederate Major General Patrick Ronayne Cleburne, a native of Cork, even recommended arming, then freeing, slaves to provide additional troops.29

Irish soldiers formed approximately five regiments, three battalions, and forty-two companies or batteries for the South. Although foreigners apparently were under-represented in the Northern forces, they were over-represented in the Southern military. They were 7 1/2% of the Confederacy’s military-age men but 9-10% of its troops. According to McPherson, that was because there were no black Southern soldiers until late in the war. The most numerous foreigners


in Confederate military service, the Irish fought well, just as they did for the North.  

In addition to General Cleburne, who was killed in action at Franklin, Tennessee, on November 30, 1864, Southern forces included several notable Irishmen. Ireland contributed the greatest number of the Confederacy's nine foreign-born general officers. Besides Cleburne, the other four -- all brigadier generals -- were William Montague Browne of County Dublin, Joseph Finegan from County Monaghan, Walter Paye Lane from County Cork, and Patrick Theodore Moore of County Galway. Lieutenant Richard R. Dowling and the forty-seven Irish gunners in his battery, the Davis Guards, captured two U.S. gunboats and drove off three others in defeating an attempted Union landing at Sabine Pass, Texas, on September 8, 1863. Additional units were the Irish Battalion from Virginia, and the two companies of Savannah, Georgia's Irish Jasper Greens. Both Company I of the 8th Alabama Infantry Regiment and Company E of the 33rd Virginia Infantry Regiment were named the Emerald

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Guards; the latter seemed remarkably obstreperous. Again like their Union counterparts, Irish Confederate troops sometimes carried special Irish flags.

Ireland’s emigrants joined both armies in America, but the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819 and the United Kingdom’s May 13, 1861 proclamation of its neutrality bound their countrymen at home. The new U.S. Minister to the Court of St. James, Charles Francis Adams, reached London on May 12. That Her Majesty’s Government issued the latter document without first consulting him surprised American authorities. Enlisting, emigrating to enlist, or agreeing to do either in a foreign military or naval service were misdemeanors under the Foreign Enlistment Act punishable by fines or imprisonment. Recruiting British subjects in British territory to do any of the above, or providing, preparing, or augmenting warships, had the same effect. Persons covered by the two measures who thus violated neutrality, who broke the Union naval blockade of Confederate ports, or who shipped contraband material to either belligerent, forfeited the protection of the British crown against penalties imposed under international law or the Foreign Enlistment Act.

The May 1861 proclamation enjoined neutrality but not silence on the Irish, who commented on the crisis once South Carolina on December 20, 1860

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34 Wiley, Life of Johnny Reb, p. 323.

became the first state to secede. James Haughton, a Quaker member of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society, left Young Ireland and the Irish Confederation in 1847 when they sought famine aid from U.S. President and slaveowner James Knox Polk. On December 31, 1860, Haughton wrote to the editor of the *Sligo Champion*, "As well expect a union between fire and water, between light and darkness, between heaven and hell, as between a community of men stealers and one of free men... every true heart the world over must exclaim, 'No Union with slaveholders.' " He did not require the Irish in America to forsake the Democrats for the Republicans, but he reiterated the words of the Declaration of Independence that all men were created equal. As a pacifist, however, Haughton still could not support even a war to end slavery.38

Emigrants themselves further discussed events surrounding the outbreak of hostilities. From Williamsburg, Virginia, Robert and Eleanor McKelvey wrote to their family in Belfast on May 20, 1861 about the war “excitement.” Ten days later, 1848 leader John Mitchel urged his sister not to believe the only available war accounts, the Northern ones. He added, “I know so much of the matter as to be exceedingly well content that my boys are on the Southern side,” and expressed concern for his sons, John and James, in the Confederate forces.37 The former helped to attack Fort Sumter in 1861 and was mortally wounded on July 20, 1864, while commanding that post; the latter lost an arm while serving as the adjutant of an infantry brigade near Richmond, Virginia. Mitchel and his


37 Robert and Eleanor McKelvey to Mrs. Thomas Lewers, May 20, 1861 (PRO/NI D. 893); John Mitchel to his sister Matilda, May 30, 1861 (PRO/NI D. 1078/M/10); Salathiel Carpenter Edgeworth to Frances Edgeworth of Edgeworthstown, Jan. 26, 1861, from “Fort Valley, Houston County, State of Georgia, lately the United States of America.” (NLI MS. 18,780).
youngest son, William, left France for the South in 1862. There Mitchel served in a Confederate ambulance corps, and William was killed in action at Gettysburg while serving with the 1st Virginia Brigade.38

On June 10, 1861, the *Cork Examiner* underscored the war's importance to Ireland: "The American war touches Ireland more nearly than almost any other country in the world. For every parish in Ireland, there is at the other side of the Atlantic an almost corresponding colony of people, bound by ties of affection and blood. In their sufferings our people suffer."39 Irish views of the war reflected Ireland's political spectrum. The Church of Ireland's Archbishop of Dublin, Richard Whately, noted Protestant Conservatives' and Liberals' dislike of American hostility toward Britain. Catholic unionists favored closer Anglo-American ties, however.40 The Anglo-Irish sympathized with the more aristocratic Confederacy, but East Ulster's Protestant social reformers supported the republican Union states.41 To Irish nationalists, the war represented potential support for their cause. Although revolutionary figures believed a victorious North might aid them, constitutional leaders thought the South offered greater prospects for help, as that region seemed more friendly to immigrants. The *Kilkenny Journal*, a "moderate nationalist" newspaper, cited greater religious tolerance in the South.42


41 Hernon, *Celts, Catholics & Copperheads*, pp. 7-8; Professor John Elliot Cairnes to Mrs. F.G. Shaw, Jul. 15, 1862 (National Library of Ireland (NLI), MS. 4493).

Possible American assistance in the future did not prevent Irish comment on war issues, such as slavery, in the present. John Elliot Cairnes of Trinity College Dublin and Queen’s College Galway was a unionist and Radical, and a member of the British Emancipation Society. In the 1860s, he probably was Ireland’s leading abolitionist. His *The Slave Power* (1862) concerned the United States’ need to contain the territorial expansion of slavery. Although he welcomed the fight for emancipation, he hoped calm individuals in America and Britain could minimize Anglo-American friction. Among Cairnes’ sympathizers were East Ulster’s unionist and Radical Protestant reformers, Protestant Whig-Liberals, Conservatives, Presbyterians, and some unionist Catholics.

Irish observers in general presented a continuum of opinion on abolition and the American Union. John Martin, founder of the Irish National League, seemed to consider the former unnecessary because the Confederacy itself would end slavery. Archbishop Whately instead suggested that taxing slaveowners on the value of their slaves would encourage gradual emancipation. Some nationalists, such as James Roche, expressed little support for abolition. On the other hand, “British-oriented” Presbyterians and Frank Harrison Hill’s *Northern Whig* emphasized it more than preserving the Union of the states. Young Ireland member Justin McCarthy in London also opposed slavery. Perhaps *Daily News* correspondent Edwin Lawrence Godkin

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from County Wicklow approached Cairnes' position more closely; Godkin was a strong Liberal abolitionist from Queen's College Belfast.46

While many in Ireland decried slavery, shocking casualties amounting to more than 26,000 men at Antietam on September 17, 1862, and 51,000 at Gettysburg over July 1-3, 1863 engendered Irish efforts to seek an end to the conflict. Dublin's Roman Catholic Archbishop, Paul Cullen, favored Confederate agent Father John B. Bannon's efforts in Ireland for the Society for Promoting the Cessation of Hostilities in America; the Marquis of Clanricarde also supported that group. Joseph M. Hernon writes that "all the churches in Ireland" wanted a peace movement leading to Southern independence, since they considered emancipation inevitable.47 Young Ireland veteran William Smith O'Brien even offered to mediate a settlement between the Union and the Confederacy. Secretary of State William Henry Seward declined for the United States, though, replying, "No, my dear sir, if you would promote the cause of America, of Ireland, of Great Britain, of Humanity itself, speak and act in every case, and without qualification, for the American Union."48

Not as many Irish supported the North as Seward might have hoped. Tipperary nationalist M.P. Daniel O'Donoghue (styled "The O'Donoghue" as the head of his family) further opposed diplomatic recognition of the South. P.J. Smyth of Young Ireland edited Dublin's pro-Fenian newspaper, The Irishman, and he did think the stronger, nonaggressive Union states should not have to

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suffer the Confederacy to exist. Even though many emigrants worked in the Northern states, Ireland's constitutional nationalists sympathized with Confederate separatism as a parallel for dividing from Britain. Unionist Catholics shared Gladstonian Liberals' desire for Southern independence, but not for slavery, and Catholic Liberals opposed Northern coercion of the Confederacy. County Longford's Liberal M.P. Colonel Fulke Greville and Lord Naas' brother, the Honorable Robert Bourke, put those ideas into practice by helping to organize the Southern Independence Association.

Britain's possible diplomatic acknowledgment of the Confederacy prior to that independence involved considerations of peace and the South's status. In Ireland in 1861 and 1862, "self-styled Liberal-Conservative" Galway M.P. W.H. Gregory and University of Dublin Conservative M.P. James Whiteside favored recognizing the South, as did Protestant Whig-Liberals. The last group, though, shared Prime Minister Palmerston's belief that such action depended on the Confederacy proving itself viable in action. Among various reasons for recognition, Unionist Catholics and some in East Ulster hoped thus to end the war and its toll of casualties. East Ulster unionists also thought recognition would improve commerce. Their basic outlook did not surprise John Mitchel in Virginia, who felt self-interest led Britain and the South to seek formal ties during the war.

Over the space of two days events occurred which greatly influenced Irish views of that conflict. On November 8, 1861, Captain Charles Wilkes of the U.S.S. San Jacinto, whose vessel formerly guarded against the African slave

49 Hernon, Celts, Catholics & Copperheads, pp. 84, 93-94.


51 Hernon, Celts, Catholics & Copperheads, pp. 7-8, 55, 69-71, 83, 117-120.
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trade, seized Confederate Commissioners James Murray Mason and John Slidell from a British ship, the Trent. The two men were en route from Havana to their respective assignments in Britain and France.52 Again reaction in Ireland followed the political spectrum. The Dublin University Magazine and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Carlisle, considered Irish and Irish-American nationalists responsible for the crisis. Among unionists, Protestant Conservatives and Liberals resented the "insult" to British neutrality, Unionist Catholics, on the other hand, balanced British and nationalist interests by seeking a peaceful solution. The Radicals viewed the case more as a legal matter in which some newspapers' heated rhetoric did not represent the views of Ireland and the United States. As for the constitutional nationalist press, they sympathized with America. The Cork Examiner, however, feared that Anglo-American hostilities might cut off U.S. food supplies needed during Ireland's agricultural depression. Revolutionary nationalists and their Irish-American counterparts still desired a fight which might establish Irish independence.53

The chief result in Ireland of the Trent affair was the meeting held at Dublin's Rotunda on December 5, 1861 "to take into account the aspect and position of Irish national affairs at the present momentous crisis." Serving as chairman, the O'Donoghue said those attending should determine Ireland's response if the U.S. fought Britain; P.J. Smyth of The Irishman stated that the Irish in Canada and America would not support the British Government. Constitutional nationalists such as T.D. Sullivan, associate editor of The Nation, and A.M. Sullivan of the same newspaper proposed a committee on

53 Hernon, Celts, Catholics & Copperheads, pp. 45-49.
establishing an Irish national organization. Fenians, however, “packed” the committee as well as the meeting, in Joseph M. Hernon’s words, and constitutional nationalist leaders such as William Smith O’Brien did not support the committee. The O'Donoghue consequently resigned from the group, but still was “removed from the commission for the peace in Counties Cork and Kerry.”

As hostile as the parties seemed at first, the diplomatic question was settled peacefully. U.S. authorities ended the basic controversy in late December 1861 when they released Mason and Slidell, and maintained that Captain Wilkes lacked official instructions to seize them. A few months later, the Prime Minister persuaded the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Sir Robert Peel, not to accept the O'Donoghue’s challenge to fight a duel over Peel’s February 21, 1862 statement in the House of Commons. The Chief Secretary on that date referred to the Rotunda meeting “at which a few mannikin [sic] traitors sought to imitate the cabbage-garden heroes of 1848; but, I am glad to say, they met with no response.”

The Dublin funeral of 1848 veteran Terence Bellew McManus occurred on November 10, 1861, two days after the original Trent arrests discussed at the Rotunda. After being transported to Australia for his part in 1848, McManus escaped to America in 1852 and lived quietly in San Francisco until his death in 1861. Fenians organized memorial ceremonies as his body was carried

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55 McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, pp. 390-391; Hernon, Celts, Catholics & Copperheads, pp. 50-52; D’Arcy, Fenian Movement, pp. 21-22; Rawley, Turning Points of the Civil War, pp. 89-90; Musicant, Divided Waters, pp. 118-122.

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across the United States en route to Ireland, and Archbishop Hughes said a
funeral Mass in New York. Comerford states that Archbishop Cullen in Dublin,
who opposed anticlerical revolutionary groups, did not forbid a Church
ceremony altogether. As long as the graveside observances did not include an
"oration," the chaplains at Glasnevin Cemetery still could participate in them.
The Archbishop merely asked why the funeral organizers wanted to conduct the
service in the Cathedral.

Despite Archbishop Cullen's reluctance, Irish Republican Brotherhood
founder James Stephens persuaded nationalist Father Patrick Lavelle to
officiate at McManus' funeral at the Mechanics' Institute in Dublin. Stephens,
forestalling rivals' plans for an immediate uprising with the remains as a focal
point, then organized a funeral procession of tens of thousands of people to
Glasnevin Cemetery. The line included three thousand members of the National
Brotherhood of St. Patrick, a separate American delegation with Michael
Doheny and Fenian leader John O'Mahony, and even some mounted Irish
veterans of the Papal Army of 1860. John Martin, who pursued political
solutions for Ireland, wrote about those Papal veterans, "What miracles can be
wrought on Irish louts by a few months' drill!" According to Comerford, such
religious events were especially attractive because the Party Processions Act of

57 D'Arcy, Fenian Movement, pp. 18-20; Robert Kee, The Green Flag: A History of Irish
Nationalism (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972), p. 313; T. A. Jackson, Ireland Her Own: An
Outline History of the Irish Struggle for National Freedom and Independence (London: Lawrence


59 D'Arcy, Fenian Movement, pp. 18-20; Kee, The Green Flag, pp. 313-315; Jackson,
Ireland Her Own, pp. 280-281; John Martin to George C. Mahon, Nov. 16, 1861 ("a few months' 
drill!") (NLI MS. 22,194); Diarmuid O'Donovan Rossa, Rossa's Recollections, 1838-1898 (Mariners
Universities Press (T.F. MacGlinchey), 1972), p. 237; Comerford, "Gladstone's first Irish
enterprise," in Vaughan, Ireland under the Union, I, pp. 431-432; Comerford, The Fenians in
Context, pp. 65, 74-79; Seumas MacManus, The Story of the Irish Race, 3rd ed. (New York: The
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1850 and 1860 outlawed political marches. A poster for a June 1862 nationalist rally in Dublin referred to the McManus ceremonies as the "augur from above of free and happy days to come." The events could not thus guarantee Ireland's future, but they bolstered nationalism on both sides of the Atlantic.

Whatever the Fenian funeral observances indicated for the Irish people, the situation soon seemed less promising in the United States. Many Americans preferred flourishing civilian employment to dangerous military service.

Following premature optimism in early 1862, Union defeats and high casualties reduced the fervor for enlistment. The number of troops lost doubtless shocked Irish people familiar with British battles:

60 Comerford, The Fenians in Context, p. 79.

61 NLI, Proclamations, Nineteenth Century, II (1844-76), Frame No. 539; D'Arcy, Fenian Movement, pp. 18-20; O'Donovan Rossa, Rossa's Recollections, p. 241.


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TABLE 3.1: NUMBERS KILLED AND WOUNDED IN VARIOUS BRITISH AND AMERICAN BATTLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British</th>
<th>American</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6,932 (Waterloo, 1815)</td>
<td>40,322 (Gettysburg, 1863)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,250 (Talavera, 1809)</td>
<td>28,399 (Chickamauga, 1863)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,002 (Fontenoy, 1745)</td>
<td>23,381 (Sharpsburg, 1862)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,386 (Salamanca, 1812)</td>
<td>19,897 (Shiloh, 1862)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,504 (Quatre-Bras, 1815)</td>
<td>18,459 (Murfreesboro, 1862-63)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of particular significance in Ireland, "foreigners" such as those in the Irish Brigade enlisted when Americans would not, and suffered in the process. James Kyle, an Irishman in the 17th Connecticut, wrote about such attitudes in a letter to his sister in February 1863:

I supose some of our boys will have to come to the war eny how for the folk will think as tha did when I came to the war I was Irish it was no mater whether I got kiled or not bill Judd wife sead it was good enough for me and tom mc corkell for we was nothing but Irish eny how but hir charls could not go for he was A nice yong man . . . . (original usage)

Heavy casualties likely discouraged some Irishmen, though, as well as the native-born, from joining the service. The Irish Brigade lost approximately 540 men at Antietam, Maryland on September 17, 1862. On December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Virginia, the Brigade of 1,200 men suffered almost

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66 James Kyle to his sister, Feb. 14, 1863, copy in private possession.

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80% casualties. Several sources indicate that the Brigade charged to within twenty-five or thirty yards of the Confederates' stone wall on Marye's Heights there, closer than any other Union unit came. Sergeant Peter Welsh of the 28th Massachusetts, a Canadian-born man of Irish descent, wrote five days later that "it was a fierce and bloody battle. our brigade got teribly cut up it is so small now that it is not fit to go into any further action unless it is recruited up" (original usage). Captain William J. Nagle of the 88th New York also commented a day after the battle, "I do not know what disposition will be made of us now in our shattered condition," with only about 250 men left in the Brigade.

The Irish Brigade continued to lose men in 1863, including 104 casualties at Chancellorsville, Virginia on May 3, 1863. Federal officials for some reason did not reply to General Meagher's request that the New York regiments be sent home to sign up men. Recruiting tended to be more for new organizations, which allowed state governors to exercise patronage by issuing officers' commissions to individuals who enlisted volunteers. Meagher resigned

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on May 14 because the unit was a brigade in name only. The Brigade, with about 530 men engaged at Gettysburg, had 198 troops killed, wounded, or missing there on July 1-3, 1863.\footnote{72 Bilby, \textit{Remember Fontenoy!}, pp. 74, 81; Boyle, \textit{A Party of Mad Fellows}, pp. 233-239, 250-256; Burton, \textit{Melting Pot Soldiers}, pp. 47-48; OR, Ser. III, Vol. V, pp. 608-609; \textit{New York Times}, May 14, 1863; \textit{The Times}, Oct. 13, 1863.}

Volunteering forestalled the impending draft of state militia in summer 1862, but the United States introduced conscription of individuals in 1863 to compensate for losses such as the Irish Brigade's. If enlistments did not fill a given request for troops within approximately seven weeks, single men aged 20 to 45 and married men from 20 to 35, followed by married men aged 35 to 45, were to be called from their district enrollment lists. Surgeons then examined them, and physically-fit individuals who did not pay commutation or hire substitutes were sent to camp. Naturalized immigrants, immigrants who had voted or held public office, and those who declared their intentions to become citizens were subject to draft.77

Many causes offered exemption from service. Certain foreigners, such as the Irishmen facing conscription in New York and St. Louis, Missouri in summer 1862, could assert their alien status. Eugene H. Berwanger cites the following example of such a certificate:

I hereby declare that I have reason to believe, after careful examination, that the bearer, John Mangan, a native of Ireland, is a Subject of Her Brittanick Majesty, who has never forfeited his claim to the protection of the Queen, by becoming a Subject or a Citizen of any foreign State. Given under my hand and Seal of Office, at the City of Charleston [South Carolina], this 18th day of September 1862. [signed] H. Pinckney Walker, British Vice-consul. (original usage)

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Some immigrants nevertheless paid swindlers fees for unnecessary papers protecting them from the draft. Those forms could be forged.\textsuperscript{78} Health problems, which some men falsified, or supporting widowed or elderly parents and very young, sometimes orphaned, children, led to exemption as well. Those in certain occupations, such as railway engineers or telegraph operators, were not subject to draft. Conscientious objections also released individuals who were not always entitled to claim them, as when New York City's largely Irish Sixth Ward boasted many more Quakers before the 1862 militia draft.\textsuperscript{79}

Leaving one's county and state before the draft offered yet another method to evade serving. In August 1862, the Federal Government forbade that option. Those orders were suspended a month later, though, as being too difficult to enforce.\textsuperscript{80} Foreigners, too, wanted to leave to go abroad. To do so, they had to obtain passports, which sometimes proved inconvenient. Other immigrants declared their citizenship intentions, making them subject to service. Under President Lincoln's proclamation of May 8, 1863, they could renounce those intentions, but then had sixty-five days in which to depart from the United States.\textsuperscript{81}


\textsuperscript{81} Geary, We Need Men, pp. 104-111; Murdock, One Million Men, pp. 307-314; Shannon, Organization and Administration of the Union Army, Vol. II, pp. 247-260; The Times, Aug. 25, 1862; Berwanger, The British Foreign Service and the American Civil War, pp. 127-133.
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Substitution or commutation provided other ways to avoid conscription. The former method involved Ireland's immigrants more directly; substitutes themselves could not be liable to service, and Irish aliens fit that requirement.82 The latter alternative meant paying $300 not to be drafted. Communities raised money for it, as did private groups of men facing conscription, who submitted fees ranging from $15 to $100 each. In exchange, members would have either their commutation money or their substitute fees paid. Murdock states, however, that offering bounties was more popular than organizing local commutation funds. Those funds, which were meant to forestall further draft protests, did not spread far beyond New York State after the unrest declined.83

As for the effects of commutation, Eugene C. Murdock and James W. Geary agree that it kept substitute prices down. That result contradicted the argument of a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight." Commutation gained money rather than the necessary men, though. The demand for troops, combined with resentment from the less wealthy, led Congress in February 1864 to allow commutation to exempt an individual from only one draft at a time. A July 1864 measure limited the practice to conscientious objectors alone.84

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Substitute prices then rose to $1,000 in Washington, D.C. and $2,100 in New York City by early 1865.\(^{85}\)

| TABLE 3.2: NUMBERS OF MEN INVOLVED IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR DRAFTS\(^{86}\) |
|---------------------------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| Call                           | Summer 1863 | Spring 1864 | Summer 1864 | Autumn 1864 | Winter 1864-65 |
| Called                         | 292,441     | 113,464   | 231,918   | 139,024   | 776,829         |
| Held to service               | 88,171      | 45,005    | 56,005    | 17,497    | 206,678         |
| Paid commutation              | 52,288      | 32,678    | 1,298     | 460       | 86,724          |
| Hired substitutes             | 26,002      | 8,911     | 28,502    | 10,192    | 73,607          |
| Exempted                      | 164,395     | 39,952    | 82,531    | 28,631    | 315,509         |
| Served personally             | 9,881       | 3,416     | 26,205    | 6,845     | 46,347          |
| Predraft volunteers           | ----        | 489,462   | 188,172   | 157,058   | ----            |
| Did not report                | 39,415      | 27,193    | 66,159    | 28,477    | 161,244         |
| Returned home after quotas were filled | ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | 76,875 |

James M. McPherson concludes that this system, "in which only 7 percent of the men whose names were drawn actually served . . . was not conscription at all, but a clumsy carrot and stick device to stimulate volunteering." The North's four drafts in 1863-65 yielded 50,000 conscripts, 120,000 substitutes, and 1,000,000 volunteers.\(^{87}\) The third group, who seemed preferable to conscripts, often chose to enlist rather than be drafted. An 1862


\(^{86}\) Murdock, *Patriotism Limited*, pp. 11-13; Murdock, *One Million Men*, p. 356. McPherson (*Battle Cry of Freedom*, pp. 600-602) suggests the figure for those who returned home after quotas were filled; Shannon (*Organization and Administration of the Union Army*, Appendix III) also cites 86,724 commutations.

Vermont recruit said of the latter prospect, "Nothing to me would appear more degrading." Recruiting posters which read, "Another Chance! To Avoid the Draft!", and "Last Chance to Avoid the Draft!" reinforced their views.88

Bounties, as well as conscription, augmented Union manpower. Attractive Federal, state, and local military bonuses amounted to $700,000,000 during the Civil War, and reached over $1,000 in cash in New York City in 1865. The original Federal enlistment bonus of $100 in 1861 rose to $300 for new recruits and $400 for re-enlisting veterans in 1863.89 In Geary's opinion, wartime inflation, low and late military pay, and the lack of allotments for soldiers' families compelled recruits to rely on bounties. Murdock shares Geary's belief that bounties boosted volunteering more than conscription did, since widespread commutation and substitution mitigated the draft.90

Like governments, private individuals helped to spur the enlistment process. Dignitaries such as Meagher and Corcoran, successfully appealing to Irish immigrants' loyalty to America and hostility to Britain, addressed war meetings which encouraged both enlistment and personal donations for bounties. Those gatherings became particularly urgent if a draft were


Examples of those recruiting posters included "Another Chance! To Avoid the Draft!" (7th Indiana Cavalry), "Last Chance to Avoid the Draft!" (Mulligan's Brigade, 1862), and "The Conscript Bill! How to Avoid It!" (U.S. Navy) in Murdock, *Patriotism Limited*; "Keep Out of the Draft!" (23rd Michigan Infantry), copy in private possession; "Don't let the 30th of December find you STILL EXPOSED TO THE DRAFT!" (2nd and 6th Michigan Regiments), in Geary, *We Need Men*, p. 42; "Now is the time to volunteer ere you are drafted." (10th Wisconsin Regiment, c. 1863-64), in Murdock, *One Million Men*.


approaching.91 Besides attending the rallies, people might pay special real-
estate taxes, or subscribe to tax-supported bond issues which also funded
bounties.92 Government employees supported the war effort, as did New York
Metropolitan Police constables who could receive $50 for obtaining the highest
number of new soldiers. In addition, someone who brought a man to a recruiter
could get $20 to $300 in "hand money," which Murdock describes as "premium
certificates."93

The bounty system created various complications. Among them were the
bounty and substitute brokers, who Murdock says "completely controlled the
supply of substitutes and volunteers during the Civil War." Those agents
charged high fees for unnecessarily helping men to enlist.94 Employing
press-gang methods similar to those used in Ireland, the brokers turned to
kidnapping and drugged drink to obtain recruits. They even mortally wounded
one man who refused to join the military in New York City in early 1865. In one
case, however, a possible recruit got the broker drunk, enlisted him, and took

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91 Murdock, One Million Men, pp. 154-169; Billings, Hardtack and Coffee, p. 37;
92 Murdock, Patriotism Limited, pp. 34, 36-37; Geary, We Need Men, pp. 157-162;
Murdock, One Million Men, pp. 154-169, 173-177.
93 Advertisement in New York Herald, Feb. 15, 1865 ($300 hand money) in Geary, We
Need Men, p. 125; Murdock, One Million Men, p. 110; New York Times, Jul. 18, 20, and 22, and
Aug. 6, 14, and 24, 1862, and Sep. 26, 1864 ($20 hand money).
94 Murdock, One Million Men, pp. 259 ("completely controlled the supply"), 271-275;
Berwanger, The British Foreign Service and the American Civil War, pp. 137-140; Shannon,
Organization and Administration of the Union Army, Vol. II, pp. 43-44; Murdock, Patriotism
III -- THE GOOD SHIP SHAMROCK

his money. Assault and imprisonment, or the threat of them, put other men into
the service.95

Policemen, like brokers, apparently coerced men to enlist. The New York
Metropolitan Police who sought the $50 premium described above apparently
imitated the agents' tactics to fill the Metropolitan Guard regiments which police
veterans commanded. The city of Syracuse, New York, authorized its detectives
to find substitutes for drafted men, but Chicago police were suspected of
earning extra money by helping brokers to obtain recruits.96 Jailers in the
District of Columbia and elsewhere also allowed brokers to bail out prisoners
who would join the military. The Enrollment Act, which governed conscription,
was amended in March 1865 to forbid such activity, however.97

Despite these abuses, some feared that restrictions would drive off the
brokers who helped local government leaders to fill draft quotas.98 The agents
often enlisted nonexistent men, or unfit men whose age or disability might
require disguising. Then the brokers divided the bounties with the authorities.
Complaints about substitutes and even public representatives were nothing
new, though. In the fourth century A.D., Flavius Vegetius Renatus attributed
Rome's military defeats in part "to the shameful conduct of the superintendents,
who, through interest or connivance, accept many men into the service which
those who are obliged to furnish substitutes for the army choose to send, and

95 Berwanger, The British Foreign Service and the American Civil War, pp. 137-140;
Murdock, Patriotism Limited, pp. 2-3, 110-112, 117-124; Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and
Navy, pp. 451-458; Bruce Catton, America Goes to War (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University
Edward Ward Hinks to Assistant Adjutant General Col. Edward D. Townsend, Jan. 3, 1865,
96 New York Times, Aug. 29, 1862; Murdock, One Million Men, pp. 188-193, 279-280,
283-298.
97 Murdock, Patriotism Limited, pp. 32-33; Murdock, One Million Men, pp. 279-280, 283-
298.
98 Shannon, Organization and Administration of the Union Army, Vol. II, pp. 93-96;
Murdock, One Million Men, pp. 271-275, 333-344.
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admit such men into the service as the masters themselves would not keep for servants."\(^9\) Brokers' frequent failures to pay recruits or the recruits' wives their due share of the money did not bother New York County Supervisor Orison J. Blunt. That official said that he

did not care a damn or a God damn what bargains the men who brought the recruits there made with the recruits -- [the New York County Volunteer and Substitute Committee] had made up their minds to carry out the bargains with those men -- the parties bringing the recruits, and he did not care if [the recruits] did not get but five dollars if they had made that bargain with [the brokers] . . . .\(^10\)

Beyond the role of unscrupulous recruiters, money itself engendered another problem: bounty jumping. Advance payment of high local military bonuses led to repeated desertion and re-enlistment for still more funds. To thwart that practice, the authorities kept recruits under guard. It appears, however, that strict punishments and executions would have been greater deterrents.\(^10\) Veteran troops disliked the poorly-disciplined bounty recruits and conscripts. The new soldiers often were "men who had been made to come or men who had been paid to come," in Bruce Catton's words. Daniel MacNamara

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of the Irish 9th Massachusetts commented, "They were a curse to the volunteer service and they brought unjust odium on the regiments which they joined."  

Apart from the bounty system's difficulties, conscription itself met stiff resistance in the North. Many Irish, particularly the less wealthy or those with Democratic sympathies, saw no need for a draft to defend a Union to which they may have felt few ties. Some members of other ethnic groups shared that outlook. Germans and Dutch in Wisconsin rioted against mandatory military service, and Frenchmen participated in unrest in Ohio. Protesters' concerns ranged from the new national source of compulsion to serve, which Geary and Peter Levine note, to local issues. Among the latter, one Pennsylvania district provost marshal who administered the draft encountered additional popular disfavor for using it to break up Irish miners' efforts to form a union. Foreigners were not alone in evading conscription, William L. Burton says. Americans tended to rely more on commutation, substitution, or exemptions. Lacking both the money for those things and the twentieth-century deferments Geary cites, some immigrants turned to protest or escape.


105 Burton, Melting Pot Soldiers, pp. 220-221; Geary, "Civil War Conscription in the North," pp. 221-224; Geary, We Need Men, pp. 97-102.
The discontent expressed in Pennsylvania, to some extent in Boston, and elsewhere over conscription finally erupted in New York City. Despite claims of "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight," McPherson and Murdock indicate that the Irish and other members of the working class actually paid commutation. Geary also points out that unskilled workers were 41.3% of those sending substitutes. In addition, some of New York's poor wanted to receive high substitute fees, and would accept being drafted if rich men were. Even with this contradictory evidence, conscription aggravated Irishmen's worries about black labor competition. That issue already resulted in rioting in Brooklyn in 1862, and job insecurity would lead New York rioters to attack street-sweeping machines and grain elevators in 1863.

Soon after blacks replaced New York's striking Irish longshoremen in June 1863, the City's troops and militia were called out to repel Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania. Things went quietly when New York City draft officials started drawing names on Saturday, July 11, 1863. Against the Provost Marshal General's hopes, however, the intervening Sunday allowed crowds to "brood," as Murdock puts it, on the disproportionate share of Irish and working-class

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names drawn the previous day.\textsuperscript{108} The fact that Sunday, July 12, also marked the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne may have further agitated Irishmen concerned over work and the draft. Iver Bernstein does not elaborate on the significance of July 12 for the 1863 riots, but he does describe violent Irish protests over New York City's Orange parade in 1870 and 1871. The long-standing hostility was mutual; George Templeton Strong of New York wrote in his diary, "For myself, personally, I would like to see war made on the Irish scum as in 1688."\textsuperscript{109}

"The most reckless and infamous gang of ruffians that ever disgraced and imperiled any civilized society on the face of the earth," in the \textit{New York Times'} words, rioted against conscription and against blacks from Monday, July 13 to Thursday, July 16, 1863. Bernstein describes how the artisans' and builders' anti-draft demonstrations on Monday gave way to wider unrest, with Irish laborers attacking blacks as job competitors. He makes the interesting point that Irish Catholic ironworkers even resented competition from immigrant contract laborers. The extent and expression of that resentment are not clear, though. It did not deter wartime immigration, partly because the contract-labor law was not enacted until 1864, when emigration from Ireland already was declining. Various observers in Ireland and Britain also failed to cite those


objections to contract laborers in attempting to discourage the Irish from going to America during the conflict.  

In demonstrating their economic, racial, and political concerns, protesters had numerous targets. Irish industrial workers pursued draft officials and troops, police, and Republican leaders associated with conscription. Mobs beat and killed several blacks, attacked their homes, and burned the Orphan Asylum for Colored Children in Fifth Avenue, while other rioters burned several draft offices and the home of Colonel Robert Nugent. Nugent, who belonged to the Irish Brigade, was then serving as the Acting Assistant Provost Marshal General in charge of the draft for the Southern District of New York State. During the disturbance, several businesses were sacked and destroyed as well.

Irishmen not only participated in the rioting but even helped to end it. On July 15 and 16, Archbishop Hughes urged the Irish to return quietly to their homes, and to respect their ethnic background and appreciate American liberty. Suspending the draft in the City, which Colonel Nugent announced on July 15, helped to quell the unrest. New York City Mayor George Opdyke and New York State Governor Horatio Seymour encouraged people to follow their normal activities while police, troops, and citizen volunteers restored order. Current opinion indicates that approximately 105 people died, 300 to 1,000 were


Injured, and property worth up to $2,500,000 (then £500,000) was destroyed in the riots. With several thousand troops present, officials resumed conscription in New York City on August 19, 1863. Soldiers also had to supervise the draft in parts of Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania later that summer. Bernstein states that the New York Irish with Democratic sympathies could demonstrate their loyalty following the riots, given Tammany Hall's support for the war effort and for prosecution of the protesters. Rumors of Federal officials' challenges to the draft in order to court Irish voters, and of further draft resistance, failed to materialize.

Events in New York soon encouraged commutation and substitution. In September 1863, New York County organized its Substitute and Relief Committee; the group was renamed the Volunteer and Substitute Committee that October. Other Northern communities appropriated money to pay commutation for those who could not afford it. On the Federal level, Provost Marshal General James Barnet Fry agreed that conscription disproportionately affected the poor. John Sherman, a Republican Senator from Ohio, proposed


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The unrest damaged the reputation of Irish troops and shocked draft supporter Sergeant Peter Welsh, who feared that Irish participation in it "[gave] their enemys an oppertunity to malighn and abuse them . . . ." (original usage) On July 22, 1863, Welsh wrote from the front:

\begin{quote}
A pretty time they are getting up mob riots when one unanimous efort might finish up this acursed war in a few weeks every leader and instigator of those riots should be made an example of there was hundreds no doubt mixed into them that did not know what they were doing caried away by excitement and under the influence of traitorous cut throats who made them believe they were resisting a great wrong they could not labour under a more false impression no conscription could be fairer then the one which is about to be enforced . . . . (original usage)\footnote{Sgt. Welsh to his wife, Jul. 22, and Aug. 2, 1863, in \textit{Irish Green and Union Blue}, pp. 78, 113-115; Boyle, \textit{A Party of Mad Fellows}, p. 310.}
\end{quote}
The draft raised problems of evasion and exemption. Although bounties and substitute fees stimulated enlistment, brokers' and jumpers' activities hurt Union manpower. Some Irish in the United States resented enforced military service, but the Irish in Ireland had yet to consider opportunities for enlistment in America.
IV--RECRUITING IRISHMEN IN IRELAND AND AMERICA

The Irish people by spring 1863, wrote one observer, regarded "any Stranger . . . as a Detective or as an American Agent." High military bounties and the availability of free passage fueled that suspicion, which developed from what Emerson Fite calls the U.S. Government's "considerable effort" to gain emigrants as soldiers. Popular concern led to action. According to John A. Hudson and Robert L. Peterson, more objections to illegal recruiting arose in Ireland than in any other foreign country.1 Eugene C. Murdock doubts that Federal officials themselves enlisted men abroad, but Peterson and Hudson believe that those authorities acquiesced in the strong prospect of foreigners' recruitment in America.2 Belfast's Ulster Observer reflected widespread...
sentiment: "... if President Lincoln still stands in need of human hecatombs, he should look elsewhere than to the decimated homes of Ireland for the victims."³

Specific cases raised Irish questions about possible American recruiting, beginning with the U.S.S. *Tuscarora*'s visits in summer 1862. To avoid potential conflict between Union and Confederate vessels in port, Britain limited belligerent warships to twenty-four hours in her harbors unless they needed repairs, provisions, or shelter from severe weather.⁴ The *Tuscarora* thus was ordered out of Queenstown, then reached Dublin on August 9, 1862, where some men deserted and others reportedly joined the crew.⁵ Port officials sent the ship away a few nights later without coaling. Local police records indicate that the vessel was in port on August 13, though U.S. Consul Henry B. Hammond said it left three days before that in search of a Confederate cruiser.⁶ When the *Tuscarora* returned from Belfast with coal on August 21, its first lieutenant would not allow police to search on board for a suspected thief. The captain of H.M.S. *Ajax* ordered the American ship to sail within twenty-four hours, and it arrived in Falmouth the next day.⁷

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The Chicago & Alton Railroad again stirred Irish concerns about enlistment by hiring about 300 young men in Dublin and Cork in spring 1863. They would work in America for one year at $1 per day, minus board and £1 per month for their passage. On April 10, 1863, a Dublin & Drogheda Railway employee wrote, “This Company has within the last few days lost several of its best hands in consequence.”

Many people believed that trained Irish militiamen, as well as civilians, were tempting targets for American recruiters. In Mullingar that spring, a Chicago & Alton representative sought members of the Westmeath Rifles. The Law Officers of England would not prosecute railway recruitment from among the militia if agents knew nothing of the annual training obligation. Those

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officials, however, recommended a proclamation forbidding the troops to leave, a fine for violating the proclamation, and a warning about it to anyone leading the men to miss their yearly drill. Irish Solicitor General James A. Lawson agreed that those soldiers could not be kept in the country outside of the training period. He and the other Law Officers of Ireland, aware of their countrymen’s family ties to America, also doubted whether any Government measures against such emigration would be effective.¹²

Whatever the English and Irish Law Officers decided to do would have been futile in the Chicago & Alton case. On April 11, 1863, the laborers left Dublin aboard the St. Andrew. They arrived eighteen days later in Portland, Maine, where their employer’s representative met them and escorted them to civilian work in Illinois. Perhaps some of the new workers did not go along, though, since fifty-three passengers enlisted within one hour of landing.¹³

One month after the St. Andrew men left, an agent named Pittman followed a typical labor-recruiting pattern and traveled with his clerk through Fermoy, Mitchelstown, Charleville, Mallow, Cahir, Tipperary, and Newcastle. The two of them offered to the waiting crowds, and especially to single men, civilian jobs in America and passages for three pence.¹⁴ Unlike other labor

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¹² May 14, 1863 opinion of the Law Officers of England, and Jul. 16, 1863 opinion of the Law Officers of Ireland (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).
¹³ Michael Garrett (alias Byrne) to Bernard Graves from Portland, Maine, May 4, 1863, Evening Mail (Dublin), Apr. 11, 1863, Daily Express (Dublin), Apr. 13, 1863, and Frederick Hudson to the Editor of The Irish Times from Chicago, Jun. 15, 1863, quoted in The Irish Times, Jul. 3, 1863 (NLI, MS. 7585, Larcom Papers).
recruiters, Pittman suggested emigrants could enlist on arrival if they so desired. These points, along with Pittman’s refusal to show his papers, led police and the Irish public to suspect a U.S. military recruiting operation. The proximity in time and area to the Tipperary militia’s annual training would have supported that conclusion. Although he said he would return for the emigrants, Pittman took their money and disappeared from a Cork boardinghouse on May 19, having signed up anywhere from 1,000 to 5,000 people to go to America.16

Some suspected that United States diplomats, like genuine or illicit railway agents, recruited men in Ireland. Private individuals, troops, and police there sought out those Federal officials, offering to serve in the U.S. Minister Charles Francis Adams in London received and declined similar requests as early as May 1861.17 On June 10, 1864, two men from the 5th Company, 10th Regiment at the Curragh wrote to Consul William B. West in Dublin, saying that they both knew “the conditions we are to go on already.”18 U.S. soldiers who recovered their health in Ireland also requested help to return to the service.


A handwritten note on Frederick Hudson’s letter in the Jul. 3, 1863 Irish Times reads, “This relates to the [Chicago & Alton] men who went in April not to the swindler in May.” (NLI, MS. 7585, Larcom Papers).

17 Charles Francis Adams to Seward, No. 3, May 24, 1861, and No. 6, Jun. 7, 1861, but cf. Oct. 28, 1861, in Dispatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain (M30), Roll 73, NA/US; same to same, No. 718, Jun. 16, 1864, in same collection, Roll 83; West to Seward, No. 18, Oct. 11, 1862, No. 43, Aug. 15, 1863, and No. 46, Sep. 28, 1863, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US; Hammond to Seward, No. 20, Jul. 31, 1862, and Aug. 19, 1862, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 3, NA/US; West to Seward, No. 73, Aug. 27, 1864, in same collection, Roll 4.

18 West to Seward, No. 67, Jun. 11, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.
IV -- RECRUITING IRISHMEN IN IRELAND AND AMERICA

Even Mexican War veteran Thomas Conroy wrote poignantly to West from the South Dublin Union workhouse on August 28, 1863, "I am willing to fight And loose the last Drop of my Blood under the Stars and stripes once more if the American Consul will Do me the favour to grant me a passage home once more."19

As those correspondents anticipated, U.S. diplomats may have fostered recruitment, beginning with their awareness that departing emigrants intended to enlist. That purpose would have been contrary to British law and neutrality. On March 21, 1863, Consul West wrote that thirteen men who left Galway that day planned to join the military in New York.20 He also suggested significantly to Washington, "There was never a time when young men co[ul]d be got in such numbers for any public work."21 Even though accepting offers to enlist in exchange for free passage could have violated Britain’s neutrality proclamation, the Dublin and Galway consuls reported that paying for transport might gain the Union Army numerous Irishmen.22 West’s 1862 proposal that each merchant ship carry for no charge one adult male per every fifty tons of the ship’s weight ostensibly was meant to meet America’s labor needs, though his conclusion indicates an ulterior motive: "On these terms I got a boy taken by the last U.S.  

19 West to Seward, No. 32, Apr. 18, 1863, and No. 45, Sep. 15, 1863 (Conroy), in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US.

20 Adams to Seward, Oct. 28, 1861, in Dispatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain (M30), Roll 73, NA/US; same to same, No. 718, Jun. 16, 1864, in same collection, Roll 83; West to Seward, No. 17, Oct. 4, 1862, and No. 28, Mar. 21, 1863, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US; London Gazette, May 14, 1861, quoted in New York Times, May 29, 1861.

21 West to Seward, No. 18, Oct. 11, 1862, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US.

IV -- RECRUITING IRISHMEN IN IRELAND AND AMERICA

Vessel at this port [Galway], three of his brothers were in the U.S. Army! and he wanted to join the Navy.” (original usage)23

The American conflict would renew Irishmen’s acquaintance with recruiting incentives beyond family connections. According to Goldwin Smith, many Irish troops for Britain had been “decoyed, under the name of enlistment, by mere crims . . . .” The Marquess of Hartington and Longford M.P. Myles William O’Reilly noted in February 1865 that men enlisted out of need. O’Reilly criticized British agents’ use of liquor and bounties to gain such recruits, saying “. . . it was, especially in time of war, only another form of the press-gang, with drink as its instrument instead of violence.”24 In America during the Civil War, Union representatives would supplement those older tactics with exaggerated assurances of “wealth and fame,” employment, and the chance to fight Britain in order to attract potential Irish servicemen.25 Emigrant John Egan wrote:

Sorry I am and that to the heart that I should become the dupe of a Federal agent, who does not reside far from the old and welcome home of 70 Thomas Street. I am not the only one. You will find young fellows leaving the finest situations in all parts of Ireland foolishly led to believe the falsifying statements of the Federal agents. They are enlisting them every day. In fact they are coming out here in thousands and the moment they land they are drafted to the battle field where danger mostly stands. I enlisted in Dublin on the 23rd day of June ’63 in the New York Engineers. I received a bounty of 150 dollars which amounts to £30 in English currency.26

23 West to Seward, No. 17, Oct. 4, 1862, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US.
24 Goldwin Smith in the Daily News, Jun. 14, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); Hansard, clxxvii, 516-22 (O’Reilly), 530 (Hartington).
Recruiting in Ireland for the American Civil War often meant recruiting in New York. Although Britain’s Government Emigration Board praised the housing, transport, and employment arrangements offered at the New York State Emigrant Depot at Castle Garden, enlistment apparently went on there as well. Father John Bannon, a Confederate agent working to counter Union recruiting in Ireland, wrote from Dublin on November 22, 1863:

In *Castle Garden* N.Y. their chief sphere [for encouraging immigrants to enlist] -- according to the statements of several gentlemen from N.Y. now in Dublin I learn that the Fed. govt. altogether ignoring the object for which C. Garden was devoted to the reception of emigrants -- take advantage of the power they possess to exclude all other bidders for labouring hands until their agents have enlisted so many as can be inveigled into the Service. I do not see how the influence at C. Garden is to [be] counteracted. (original usage)\(^{27}\)

British Consul E.M. Archibald in New York reported almost six months before Bannon’s account that State Emigration Commission employees won an unspecified premium for enlisting 300 men to fill a regiment, “with, as is stated to me, the approval of the Commissioners, . . . .” By July 1864, New York County’s Volunteer Committee advertised bounties at Castle Garden, evidently with official sanction.\(^{28}\) The case of ninety-six Irishmen, who reached New York in January 1865 hoping to work in a glass factory, indicated such approval. Once the men went through immigration proceedings, agents “sequestered” them, offered them drink, and persuaded sixty-two of them to enlist. Those who

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declined to do so were released into the city, but without the jobs they anticipated.29

Castle Garden could not eradicate outside its walls the "banded conspiracy of thieves and swindlers" whom Consul West considered an inevitable hazard for newcomers. Shortly before Father Bannon's report cited above, the General Agent of the State Emigration Commissioners appealed in the New York Times for arriving emigrants' American addresses in order to expedite forwarding them from New York. Leaving there would reduce "the liability of emigrants (sic) to be swindled or led astray by vagabonds, who constantly infest every locality in the vicinity of Castle Garden . . . ."30 The presence of recruiting offices outside the gates of the Emigrant Depot, including two offering whiskey within twenty yards of the site, seemed to support accounts of immigrants enlisting immediately following arrival. One such report involved Irish speakers joining the Irish Brigade's 88th New York at an unspecified date.31

Agents openly signed up men for the military near Castle Garden, but "crimps," by contrast, were covert. The latter compelled men, immediately upon landing, to enlist or to face unemployment.32 Union Brigadier General Isaac

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30 West's statement in Galway American, May 24, 1862, enclosed in West to Seward, No. 11, May 26, 1862, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US; Berwanger, The British Foreign Service and the American Civil War, pp. 149-153.


Jones Wistar cited their emphasis on foreigners. Irish immigrants experienced rough treatment, sometimes reportedly being enlisted, or arrested as draft evaders, despite possessing alien papers.33

When Civil War draft quotas created a demand for men, and cities and towns offered higher bounties to reach their goals, precedent existed to meet the need.34 Crimps' tactics would resemble those of the recruiters of merchant seamen, and even of New York's boardinghouse and transport company runners. In fact, the two most common elements in America were intoxication and force, much as Myles William O'Reilly said of British press-gangs.35

The first method gained men through excessive or drugged drink, which the Foreign Secretary, Earl Russell, and Captain Richard Worsham Meade of the receiving ship U.S.S. North Carolina in New York Harbor deplored. Lafayette C. Baker, a detective for the United States War Department, further noted that many New York City naval recruiting stations were on the same premises as drinking establishments.36

33 Wistar to Dix, Apr. 15, 1864, quoted in Evening Mail (Dublin), May 2, 1864, and The Irish Times, Aug. 10, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); The Munster Express (Waterford), Dec. 5, 1863; Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pp. 445-451.


35 Hansard 3, cxxvii, 516-22; Archibald to Lyons, Feb. 22, 1864, in Notes from the British Legation to the Department of State (M50), Roll 61, NA/US; The Munster Express (Waterford), Dec. 5, 1863; The Times, May 13, 1864, Quebec Chronicle, n.d., quoted in Freeman's Journal (Dublin), Sep. 2, 1864, and Cork Constitution, n.d., quoted in The Irish Times, Dec. 29, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy, pp. 75-76, 451-456; McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, pp. 605-607; Catton, America Goes to War, p. 44.

36 Wistar to Dix, Apr. 15, 1864, quoted in Evening Mail (Dublin), May 2, 1864, and The Times, May 13, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); Archibald to Lyons, Feb. 22, 1864, in Notes from the British Legation to the Department of State (M50), Roll 61, NA/US; Consul F. Lousada to Earl Russell, Sep. 22, 1864, in Correspondence from H.M. Consul in Boston (PRO/GB, F.O. 5/973); New York Times, Aug. 12, 1864; Hinks to Townsend, Jan. 3, 1865, quoted in New York Times, Jan. 10, 1865; Murdock, Patriotism Limited, pp. 110-112; Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy, pp. 451-458, 469-478; Berwanger, The British Foreign Service and the American Civil War, pp. 149-153.
Agents used coercion as well as liquor to enlist new troops. Their practices included threats, assault, and kidnapping, and at least once resulted in murder. In summer 1862, the New York Times indicated how police rapidly filled Metropolitan Guard regiments such as that commanded by a police veteran: "... the inducement [was] the significant suggestion that if [the recruits] do not join the regiment a term of 'the island' or 'the penitentiary' is their fate."

A ballad in Ireland, entitled "The Glorious Victory of Seven Irishmen, Over the Kidnappers of New-York," described how an American in New York City found jobs for those immigrants who came to the wartime U.S. seeking work. He attempted to get them drunk under the guise of celebration, then told them they had enlisted. When they demurred, force supplemented drink:

"Twelve Yankees in soldiers dress [entered] without delay,  
And said my boys you must prepare with us to come away,  
This is one of our officers, he listed you complete,  
You need not strive for to resist we will no longer wait ... ."

The Irishmen proved resourceful, and "they knock'd the soldiers down ... ."

These images contrast sharply with Secretary of State Seward's description of immigrants coming to America, then choosing to join the military. Brigadier

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37 Adams to Seward, No. 650, Apr. 8, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain (M30), Roll 82, NA/US; Capt. James F. Lator to Benjamin, late May-early June 1864, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C; Archibald to Lyons, Feb. 22, 1864, in Notes from the British Legation to the Department of State (M50), Roll 61, NA/US; Wistar to Dix, Apr. 15, 1864, quoted in Evening Mail (Dublin), May 2, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); New York Times, Mar. 1, 1865; Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy, pp. 75, 451-458; Murdock, Patriotism Limited, pp. 2-3, and One Million Men, pp. 279-280, 283-298.


General Edward Ward Hinks, who commanded the Hart’s Island rendezvous in New York Harbor, summarized the success of crimping:

Men are cooped up, drugged, or stupefied with intoxicating liquors, and coerced to enlist under assumed names, which sometimes they themselves are unable to remember, and no one detects the fraud until they become sobered at the general rendezvous because every one (sic) is entirely engrossed -- in filling the quotas.40

Coercion into the service raised the issue of getting out of the service. Echoing Marshal de Saxe, Dublin’s Evening Mail remarked, “Men so enlisted can never become soldiers, even under the compulsion of their circumstances. Their heart is not in the work.” General Wistar condemned “kidnapping these men into positions where, to their ignorance, desertion must seem like a vindication of their own rights and liberty.”41 One case involved seventeen-year-old Irish immigrant Michael Quinn, who reached New York in 1863 and was forced into the U.S. Navy. He suffered serious injuries when he jumped from a train en route to Cairo, Illinois, and duty with the Mississippi Squadron. After Consul Archibald was notified and the Navy investigated the situation, Quinn was discharged from the service.42

Addressing numerous such cases placed great pressure on British diplomats like Boston Consul Frederick Lousada, whose health suffered, and who had to request another room and another clerk to handle extensive

correspondence on forced enlistment. As Consul Archibald wrote in February 1864, "... the separate statements of similar facts and circumstances by so many complainants, furnish a cumulative testimony in proof of the abuses and the deception practised upon them individually, which cannot be rejected without greatly disregarding the interests of truth and justice." The U.S. often discharged minors, but otherwise responded slowly to official British claims of coerced enlistment. Authorities such as Archibald and General Wistar nevertheless continued to demand redress for involuntary immigrant recruits.

Given the reports of enlistment, one wonders how the practice influenced the sex ratio of Irish emigrants:

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Leinster</th>
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<th>Connacht</th>
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<td>92</td>
<td>149</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>119</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average number for all Ireland during the war years was 110.2, less than 1 per cent higher than the average for 1859 and 1860 (109.5). It is not clear why the statistic rose for Leinster and dropped for Connacht in 1862, but otherwise changed little. Munster's figure grew by only 8 per cent during the conflict.

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43 Archibald to Lyons, Feb. 22, 1864, in *Notes from the British Legation to the Department of State* (M50), Roll 81, NA/US; Lousada to Russell, Sep. 22, 1864, in *Correspondence from H.M. Consul in Boston* (PRO/GB, F.O. 5/973); Lyons to Russell, Jul. 29, 1864, quoted in Berwanger, *The British Foreign Service and the American Civil War*, p. 159.

Perhaps American business growth, and peace, especially attracted Ulster’s larger industrial population; the statistic for persons leaving that province jumped more than 33 per cent from 1864 to 1865.45

Does the relatively unchanged sex ratio of wartime emigrants exclude recruitment in Ireland? No. By adapting antebellum tactics for bringing over and receiving newcomers, agents could enlist men without increasing that figure. The Chicago & Alton, Pittman, and Finney cases in 1863 and 1864 illustrated a common peacetime practice of a traveling representative signing up workers who paid a small fee for their passage, with the remainder to be deducted from their wages.46 Crimps in America then forced immigrants into the military, just as “runners” compelled new arrivals to use their boardinghouses or transport companies before the war.47 Indeed, the lack of ballads about coerced enlistment, except for the one cited above, suggests that the Irish may not have considered such recruitment methods very different from prewar practices. Recruiting in Ireland also seemed superfluous when emigrants determined before departure that they would enlist, perhaps on the advice of earlier

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46 Erickson, American Industry and the European Immigrant, pp. 17-18, 35.

emigrants, or when they found on arrival considerable inducements to do so.\textsuperscript{48} Nevertheless, a recruiter hoping to gain a share of enlistment bounties may well have sent over an agent to steer Irishmen in the desired direction.

Though there was little change either in the proportion of men leaving or in the methods used to get them, the British Government in 1862 began to discuss with United States officials the issue of Ireland furnishing troops for America. Secretary Seward in April of that year “contrast[ed]” Britain’s objections to U.S. enlistment of Her Majesty’s subjects with “the generous enthusiasm of those states which send us their soldiers by hundreds of thousands to uphold the American Union.”\textsuperscript{49} Minister Adams denied Federal authorization or knowledge of the recruiting, but he acknowledged that immigrants might accept military bounties after reaching the U.S. Earl Russell, who criticized enlistment as a violation of neutrality, further considered some rumors about it to be unfounded.\textsuperscript{50}

Adams’ statement notwithstanding, rising Irish emigration in 1863 continued to fuel concern about recruitment. 1,278 persons reportedly set out from Queenstown in the two weeks before April 8, and another 1,500 left during


the week of May 2. Russell now urged Adams to accept Confederate shipbuilding and enlistments in Britain if the Union military persisted in seeking men in Ireland. The United States Minister maintained his denial of recruiting, however, saying he had "no reason to believe that any American Citizen in England (sic) clothed with authority has ventured to act in any other way." Following questions in the House of Commons, Irish authorities themselves indicated that they had no definite knowledge of those clandestine U.S. activities. Consul Archibald also questioned how often agents paid emigrants' passages in America to compel enlistment.

In 1864, recruiting and neutrality in general remained serious issues. The Irish Times observed in January, "We find a continuous stream of emigration from Ireland. . . . it consists chiefly of able-bodied men of the military


53 Hansard, 3, cxix, 1930, and clxxi, 175–176; The Times, Mar. 28, 1863, and Evening Mail (Dublin), Jun. 2, 1863 (NLI, MS. 7585, Larcom Papers); Mar. 24–25, 1863 memorandum, and The Times, Mar. 26, 1863 (NLI, MS. 7587, Larcom Papers); West to Seward, No. 29, Mar. 28, 1863, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US.


age.... this stream sets ever to one country, and that country a belligerent." The Munster Express went farther, condemning Britain for allowing U.S. forces to sign up Irishmen. On June 25, 1864, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland issued a proclamation about the risks of joining the military in America and violating the neutrality proclamation and the Foreign Enlistment Act. Consul West, however, called the 1864 document "lame and impotent." Although Prime Minister Palmerston believed that both Union recruiting and Confederate shipbuilding violated British neutrality, he considered the former much harder to prove. The Times in March 1864 praised the overall impartiality of Her Majesty's Government. Some believed the United States' 1864 contract-labor law encouraged emigration to gain still more troops; The Irish Times, however, said that requiring emigrants to get passports might reveal recruiters and enforce contracts.

Earl Russell warned Lord Lyons to watch out for forced enlistment of unskilled Irish laborers in America, but officials there denied recruiting Irishmen at home. In response to an 1864 Senate resolution, the State, War, and Navy

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57 Proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Jun. 25, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16996 (1864)); West to Seward, No. 71, Jul. 2, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.
58 The Times, Mar. 15, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); New York Times, Mar. 28, 1864.
59 Freeman's Journal (Dublin), May 4, 1864, in West to Seward, No. 62, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US; The Irish Times, Apr. 1, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); Lieut. James L. Capston to Benjamin, [No. 8], Aug. 24, 1864, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, LC.
Departments reported that they did not authorize obtaining troops in Ireland. Secretary Seward, who in December 1864 professed ignorance of any future illegal recruitment abroad, acknowledged that some immigrants volunteered for the military on arrival. Concerning forced enlistment, however, he observed that some complaints came from a few British subjects who were "drunkards" and were discontented with the service. The U.S. authorities who disavowed improper overseas recruiting themselves further requested Britain to take action against similar Confederate activities in the United Kingdom.

The United States' denials of enlistment failed to reassure many in Ireland, and they discouraged going to wartime America. Dublin's Freeman's Journal in March 1864 admitted the appeal of the U.S. then: "Pat is attracted by two things -- fighting and money. He would fight for the fun of the thing -- but with the money superadded, the spade has no chance against the rifle." There were problems, though. Some noted the ultimate price of military bounties,

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61 Seward to Adams, No. 1068, Aug. 15, 1864, and No. 1185, Dec. 9, 1864, in Diplomatic Instructions (M77), Roll 78, NA/US.


63 Freeman's Journal (Dublin), Mar. 16, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); Wittke, The Irish in America, p. 136.
while John Mitchel and *The Nation* believed that the only American land numerous Irishmen would find would be their graves in the South.64

Immigrants who lived still might suffer. Mr. Justice William N. Keogh and Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, both judges of assize, joined those who emphasized Irish recruits' exploitation in the U.S. Army.65 Still others hoped that reports of Union troops' high casualties, rough living conditions, executions as deserters, and harsh treatment as prisoners of war would deter emigration.66 Distress among newcomers' families, especially for women left alone when men were forced to enlist or were killed in action, supported those arguments.67 Such concerns led The Irish Times to remark in August 1864 that the people then going to New York for work were "absolutely idiots." For similar reasons, *The Nation* and the Evening Mail in Dublin condemned the Irish-American press for encouraging immigrants to enlist.68


68 The Nation (Dublin), Dec. 19, 1863 (NLI, MS. 7587, Larcom Papers); Evening Mail (Dublin), Apr. 1, 1864, and The Irish Times, Aug. 10, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers).
The Fenians, whom Judge Keogh and others already considered a threat to Ireland’s social and economic stability, may themselves have boosted wartime departures of civilian workers and potential or actual British troops.\(^69\) Lieutenant James L. Capston, a Confederate agent in Ireland, and the Earl of Donoughmore, a Southern advocate, believed reports that members of the movement recruited for U.S. forces and furnished emigrants’ passages in anticipation of Anglo-American hostilities.\(^70\) In 1864, police in Athlone arrested Fenian leader Patrick “Pagan” O’Leary for trying to recruit four soldiers of the 25th Regiment for his group, and for encouraging them to go to America.\(^71\) The organization’s secret drill also attracted young men, stiff legal penalties notwithstanding, and may have prepared them to enlist in the Union Army. W.J. O’Neill Daunt and Sir William Wilde recognized marching’s appeal, even though Wilde considered utterly useless the military training inherited from secret societies such as the Whiteboys and the Ribbonmen.\(^72\)


\(^70\) The Irish Times, Mar. 3, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7587, Larcom Papers); Capston to Benjamin, [No. 2], Nov. 9, 1863, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C; The Munster Express (Waterford), Mar. 12, 1864; Hermon, Celts, Catholics & Copperheads, p. 33.


Irishmen's enlistment in Union forces, with or without Fenian help, led Confederates to join the Irish in condemning emigration. President Jefferson Davis stated in 1863, "We are fighting against the hirelings of the earth." On another occasion, he reportedly called Northerners and especially the Irish "the vilest refuse of all the nations of the earth," adding that "it was doing God's service to shoot them as you would carrion crown (sic) that prayed (sic) on Southern cornfields." Admiral Raphael Semmes, commander of the C.S.S. Alabama, also criticized immigrant recruits. Confederate diplomatic agent A. Dudley Mann recommended sentencing those who were captured to "'solitary confinement at hard labor for life.' " In Wilmington, North Carolina, British Vice-Consul Donald G. McRae even suggested executing unnaturalized foreign-born U.S. prisoners of war.

Given the blockade of Southern ports, the Confederates discouraged emigration from Ireland and did not compete with Union recruiting there. Henry Hotze, a Southerner operating in Britain, suspected the latter practice because


so many men and so few families left. As noted above, though, the sex ratio of Ireland’s emigrants changed little. Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin in April 1863 urged the Confederate commissioner to Britain, James M. Mason, to raise the issue with Government officials. After visiting Lord Donoughmore that summer, Mason thought the distress stimulating Irish emigration would override Confederate reports of Union recruiting tactics. Secretary Benjamin also sent over Lieutenant Capston, who purportedly was an alumnus of Trinity College Dublin. College records, however, do not include Capston’s name. More will be said later concerning that officer’s efforts.

Perhaps the most active Southern agent in Ireland was Father John Bannon, born there in 1829 and related to the Sandford-Pakenham-Mahon family at Strokestown Park, Co. Roscommon. He served as a Catholic priest in St. Louis, Missouri before the war, then as a Confederate Army chaplain until

after the fall of Vicksburg, Mississippi in July 1863. At Secretary Benjamin's request, Bannon left Richmond, Virginia that autumn to discourage Irish emigration to the North. His ship sailed through the Union blockade at Wilmington, North Carolina en route to Halifax, Nova Scotia. From there, he and Patrick N. Lynch, the Catholic Bishop of Charleston, South Carolina, traveled to Queenstown. Bishop Lynch's nephew did not indicate when they arrived, but recalled that Bannon set to work immediately after landing:

... when we reached Queenstown [date not given] ... There must have been more than one thousand sturdy young Irishmen, with their bundles and packs, waiting on the dock for the arrival of the Cunard Steamer from Liverpool, to take them to Boston. In a few minutes Fr. Bannon appeared upon the scene, in his priestly garb. Mounting a box, he soon had all the Irish lads around him, as they recognized in him at once, the Catholic Priest. In a clear, ringing voice, he told them of the war that was raging in America, between the North and the South. How the Southern men, ragged and starving, were fighting for the protection of their homes; how he himself, had served as Chaplain of an Irish Catholic Regiment on the Southern side, till he and the whole regiment had been captured at the surrender at Vicksburg; that he had remained in prison till exchanged. He explained to them that on their arrival in America, they would find no work; that after a few days, they would be arrested as vagabonds, thrown into prison, and be given the choice, either to remain in jail, or enlist in the army. 'I, as a priest, tell you the truth,' he said, 'so that you may not walk blindfolded into the trap set for you. My advice to you, is for all of you to return to your homes, and not go to America until this cruel Civil War is ended.' And then a

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most touching thing happened. All of those young fellows dropped to their knees, with the cry ‘Your blessing, Father.’ When it had been given, they quietly shouldered their packs and bundles and marched away to their homes.”83

Bannon was practical. As a Confederate and someone unknown in Ireland, he preferred to publish anonymous statements in Dublin’s *Freeman’s Journal* and *The Nation* and to distribute handbills, including some at churches. He chose this method because he observed that most potential emigrants did not read the Irish press, which also favored the Northern states.84 His other publications featured the writings of influential figures, such as the correspondence of Irish National League founder John Martin and Young Ireland leader William Smith O’Brien, and a statement from 1848 veteran John Mitchel. The Southern chaplain printed and circulated Pope Pius IX’s letters to President Jefferson Davis and Archbishop Hughes advocating a resolution of the war, which persuaded Archbishop Cullen of Dublin to support Bannon.85 Another broadside by the Confederate agent noted St. Alphonsus Liguori’s emphasis on a just war, and exhorted Irishmen, “For your own conscience only,

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83 Bishop Patrick N. Lynch to Bannon, Feb. 8, 1866, and an undated biographical sketch of Bannon by Robert A. Lynch (USC, SCL, Bannon Papers).


and for the fair fame of Ireland, sell not your swords, stake not your lives and salvation, by partaking in an unjust, cruel, and barbarous war."\(^\text{86}\)

Bannon relied both on posters and on other forms of communication. From the outset, he visited and sent information to Ireland’s Catholic clergy, whom he found sympathetic to the South and "most interested in checking the emigration." That may have been because need rendered their followers likely targets for recruitment, as Joseph M. Hernon indicates.\(^\text{87}\) Bannon even handled petitions from Britain’s Society for Promoting the Cessation of Hostilities in America. In 1864, Ireland submitted approximately twenty-four such documents.\(^\text{88}\)

The busy Southern representative at first thought that "... the emigration can not be stayed," but a "labouring peasant" in the province of Leinster told him in March 1864, "‘We who were all praying for the North at the opening of the war, would now willingly go to fight for the South if we could get there.’"\(^\text{89}\)

Bannon believed that Catholic clergy understood the risks their followers faced in America, and that people planning to leave now were wary of free passages entailing enlistment.\(^\text{90}\) Having "neither funds nor instructions" to remain in Ireland, he accompanied Bishop Lynch to Rome in spring 1864 in another


\(^{89}\) Bannon to Benjamin, No. 2, Nov. 22, 1863, and No. 6, Mar. 9, 1864, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C.

\(^{90}\) Bannon to Benjamin, No. 6, Mar. 9, 1864, No. 7, Apr. 9, 1864, and No. 8, May 28, 1864, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C.
unsuccessful attempt to win the Vatican's diplomatic recognition of the Confederacy, which A. Dudley Mann had failed to gain in 1863.91 Bannon's immediate superior in London, Henry Hotze, praised Bannon's efforts, as did Secretary Benjamin and President Davis.92

Compared to the erstwhile chaplain, Lieutenant Capston furnished far less information on his activities. These included printing placards about anti-Catholic prejudice in the Northern states, and distributing the papers at emigrant boardinghouses and passenger ships. In addition, Capston dealt with the Confederate commercial agent at Queenstown, Robert Dowling. The lieutenant, though, did not elaborate on his contacts with the clergy of Ireland and various leading figures whom he did not name.93 Concerning the Fenians, Capston thought their "great object . . . is to Spirit away the Irish to Swell the ranks of the Federal Army."94 He disagreed with Bannon's belief that Ireland's newspapers favored the United States, but his description of Northern wartime inflation supplemented warnings from Bannon about forced recruitment. Both men also emphasized the South's greater tolerance for immigrants in general, which did not necessarily contradict Southern criticism of immigrants in Union


92 The Times, n.d., in Hotze to Bannon, Mar. 8, 1864, same to same, Apr. 22, 1864, and Benjamin to Hotze, n.d., in Hotze to Bannon, Aug. 16, 1864 (USC, SCL, Bannon Papers); President Davis' endorsement on Bannon to Benjamin, No. 6, Mar. 9, 1864, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C.

93 Capston to Benjamin, [No. 1], Oct. 1, 1863, [No. 2], Nov. 9, 1863, [No. 6], Apr. 14, 1864, and [No. 8], Aug. 24, 1864, and Bannon to Benjamin, No. 3, Dec. 15, 1863, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C; Lonn, Foreigners in the Confederacy, pp. 73-81.

94 Capston to Benjamin, [No. 2], Nov. 9, 1863, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C.
uniform, as described above. Various historians observe that emigration continued despite the agents' work. The two Confederates, however, must have discouraged some Irishmen from setting out and others from enlisting in the U.S.

Other Southerners left fewer records of their Irish operations than Capston and Bannon did. Robert Dowling, the former United States Consul at Cork, was named the Confederacy's commercial agent there by March 27, 1863. Eight months later, he considered Northern recruiting in Ireland "so ingeniously contrived that no tangible case can be come at." He thought that individuals' passages were paid in America, thus evading the Foreign Enlistment Act, although Consul Archibald questioned that point. Dowling later sought additional funds to obtain information about U.S. agents' activities, and to counteract the "alarming increase" in emigration anticipated for spring 1864.

Among lesser-known Confederates in Ireland, Edwin deLeon helped to persuade newspapers such as the Cork Examiner and The Irish Times to support the South. Army Captain James F. Lalor wrote editorials on the war.

95 Capston to Benjamin, enclosure in [No. 2], Nov. 9, 1863, and enclosure in [No. 8], Aug. 24, 1864, and Bannon to Benjamin, No. 2, Nov. 22, 1863, No. 4, Jan. 19, [1864], No. 6, Mar. 9, 1864, No. 7, Apr. 9, 1864, and No. 8, May 28, 1864, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C; The Times, Mar. 8, 1864, quoted in New York Times, Mar. 27, 1864; Hernon, "Irish Religious Opinion on the American Civil War," pp. 516-517; Lonn, Foreigners in the Confederacy, pp. 73-81; Wittke, The Irish in America, pp. 148-149.


97 Sep. 5, 1861 statement enclosed in Dispatch No. 13 in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Cork (T196); Benjamin to Mason, Mar. 27, 1863, in Richardson, Messages and Papers of Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy, Vol. II, p. 467.

98 Dowling to Benjamin, [No. 1], Nov. 25, 1863, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C; cf. Archibald to Lyons, May 27, 1863 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).

99 Dowling to Benjamin, [No. 2], Jan. 28, 1864, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C.

100 Stock, "Catholic Participation . . .," pp. 5-6.
for *The Irish Times*, maintained contact with police detectives following Union agents, and met Southern sympathizers such as the Earl of Donoughmore and the Marquis of Clanricarde. Lalor reported, "Mr. Smith O'Brien tells me it is impossible to stay the immigration (sic). But I am sowing broadcast the trading in the blood of the Irish immigrant (sic) by the Yankee Kidnappers."\(^{101}\) While on leave in Ireland, Captain R. G. Atkins of the Confederate Army wrote to the Catholic Bishop of Kerry, Dr. Moriarity. The officer expressed regret that U.S. military bounties led Irish immigrants to enlist and to face other Irishmen when some Americans would not fight. Atkins echoed Pope Pius IX's desire for peace, then asked Dr. Moriarity to dissuade his followers from emigrating to the war.\(^{102}\)

If Southerners sought to corroborate Union recruitment in Ireland, they could have found parallels in other countries. The United Kingdom saw rumors of such enlistment in Leeds in 1863, and attempted recruiting among the Royal Engineers at Woolwich in 1864. The American Consul at Manchester, Henry W. Lord, even suggested furnishing tickets to emigrants who would enlist in the U.S. If international law permitted those transactions, the passage money would be part of the advance payment of the men's bounties.\(^{103}\) Agents coerced many British subjects into the military in New York and Boston as well.\(^{104}\) Police

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\(^{101}\) Lalor's sole report appears to date from late May or early June 1864 because it refers to that spring’s campaign in Virginia but does not yet mention a Confederate defeat. Lalor to Benjamin, late May or early June, 1864, in *Confederate State Department Records*, Roll 6, L/C.


\(^{104}\) Archibald to Lyons, Feb. 22, 1864, in *Notes from the British Legation to the Department of State* (M50), Roll 61, NA/US; Lousada to Russell, Sep. 22, 1864, in *Correspondence from H.M. Consul in Boston* (PRO/GB, F.O. 5/973); Wistor to Dix, Apr. 15, 1864, quoted in *Evening Mail* (Dublin), May 2, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, pp. 469-478.
vigilance and legal penalties did not prevent people from encountering similar recruitment tactics in Canada, where drugged tea was a unique intoxicant. A militia colonel there also reportedly lost his commission for trying to raise a regiment of lancers for the United States’ service in 1861. Following the 1864 Senate resolution mentioned above, which inquired about recruiting in Ireland and Canada, the Secretaries of the State, War, and Navy Departments replied in the negative. Seward acknowledged one such trip to the latter country at an unspecified date, though, adding that Union authorities immediately recalled the agents. Elsewhere in British territory, Calcutta’s Bengal Hurkaru termed U.S. Navy enlistments for free passage an “insolent breach of international law.”

Other European citizens, like Her Majesty’s subjects, joined the Union forces. D.M. Ross of Boston organized the recruitment of unmarried German and Belgian men as potential draft substitutes. They signed contracts and would get three years’ work offering at least $12 per month, room and board, and medical care, plus their passage and a $100 bonus. Once in America, they could enter the military; indeed, their terms already resembled those of the U.S.


Some of Ross’s first group of emigrants, who reached Boston in spring 1864, were discouraged from enlisting. The second and third sets of men then were kept under guard on Deer Island in Boston Harbor to prevent similar interference after they arrived later that summer. A number of the foreigners reportedly did not regret being enlisted, which they might have anticipated after drilling each day on the aptly-named steamer Bellona. They did, however, object to sharing their bounties with Ross and his colleagues. The extent of similar recruiting programs in Sweden and other areas led A. Dudley Mann to report in August 1864 that the Continent in general “is bankrupt of criminals and paupers. All the houses of correction and poor houses have been drained.”

Southerners sometimes appeared to imitate the Northern enlistment practices they opposed in Ireland and throughout Europe. Perhaps a young man “of seafaring aspect,” who claimed to be Captain Fisher of the Confederacy, signed up others in Queenstown in August 1863. He then decamped for an unknown destination, much as Mr. Pittman had done three months earlier. In 1864, a Confederate veteran proposed to recruit men in Ireland, then to pay for their passage to Matamoros, Mexico, by selling cotton in Liverpool. Secretary of War James A. Seddon, however, dismissed the plan as

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in the South itself, substitute brokers treated Irishmen in the same way their Northern counterparts did, according to Junius H. Browne:

Certain Confederates speculated freely and profitably in the traffic [furnishing substitutes]. First they set about 'running a Mick,' professional slang for getting an Irishman drunk; then they induced him to enlist for two or three hundred dollars, obtaining, however, five times that sum from some citizen desirous of procuring a substitute; and, after sending him to camp in the forenoon, brought him back to town towards evening to sell him again to some other native seeking to escape the service.113

Secretary of State Benjamin even planned in 1864 to give free transport via Mexico to Polish and Scottish recruits for the Confederate Army.114 Probably few, if any, emigrants arrived under that program, though. In addition, it is surprising that Southern officials sought volunteers from Scotland after saying that Union enlistment in Ireland violated British neutrality.

The Irish were long accustomed to recruiting sergeants' dubious tactics. When the Civil War began, U.S. agents offered them similar inducements. In America, coercion was added. Autumn 1863 would bring the crux of United States recruitment in Ireland.


113 Lonn, Foreigners in the Confederacy, p. 235.

Late 1863 and early 1864 saw American recruiting in Ireland transformed from an abstract issue for diplomats into a concrete question for Irishmen. Among the 400 to 500 British subjects who protested to Lord Lyons about being coerced to enlist, the Finney case accounted for somewhat more than one-fifth of the total. That proportion supports Ireland's leading role in objecting to improper recruitment. Although sixteen other Irish appear to have volunteered on the U.S.S. Kearsarge at Queenstown, many observers questioned their enlistment as well. The two incidents give a human face to Union recruiting in Ireland. They corroborate reports of methods used to force men into the military, including official involvement, payment of passages, confinement, drink, and the

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2 Admiral Sir Lewis Jones to the Secretary of the Admiralty from Queenstown, Dec. 7, 1863, same to same, Dec. 8, 1863, and Capt. John A. Winslow to Jones, Dec. 7, 1863, (NAI, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Minister Charles Francis Adams to Secretary of State William H. Seward, No. 553, Dec. 11, 1863, in *Dispatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain* (M30), Roll 80, National Archives of the United States (NA/US); *Daily Express* (Dublin), Dec. 9, 1863 (National Library of Ireland (NLI), MS. 7587, Larcom Papers).
drugged drink and anaesthetics used in America. Finally, these cases left a greater body of evidence than any other Union recruitment in Ireland did.

Captain John Ancrum Winslow of the United States Navy raised the issue of enlistment when he brought his ship, the U.S.S. Kearsarge, to Queenstown in November 1863. Whether sailors were recruited there was hotly debated, and why Captain Winslow returned them is not clear. Following the men’s prosecution and release under the Foreign Enlistment Act, the ship’s unauthorized visit to London continued the controversy. The Kearsarge situation seems to have been a matter of chance, rather than part of any systematic U.S. Navy recruiting abroad during the Civil War. Naval officers with Washington’s tacit approval may have enlisted sailors overseas, however, when the opportunity arose.3

By contrast, Boston businessman Jerome G. Kidder and County Galway native Patrick H. Finney conducted a well-organized operation. Finney left for Ireland in December 1863, ostensibly to hire laborers for American firms. The Irish Law Officers and police in Galway and Dublin could not altogether prove their very strong suspicions that he recruited for the U.S. military, even when a man in Dublin who claimed to be Finney’s clerk sued him for unpaid wages. The Finney-Kidder activities in Ireland itself will be discussed here; the apparently coerced enlistments of some of their emigrants in America in spring 1864 are covered in the next chapter.4


4 See NA/I, C.S.O., R.P. 16765 (1864); Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C; and NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers. See also Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pp. 424-425, 434-435.
British and American authorities who would soon clash over Finney and the Kearsarge ironically cooperated against Confederate recruiting in August 1863. Admiral Sir Lewis Jones, commanding at Queenstown, ordered local people not to help recruit for a Southern privateer reported to be en route to that port. The United States' consul there was Edwin S. Eastman, and he commended Admiral Jones for that statement.\(^5\) By December, though, the British would suspect Eastman himself of complicity in the case of Captain Winslow's ship.

Strong winds forced the Kearsarge to call at Queenstown from November 2 to 5, 1863.\(^6\) Robert Dowling, the Confederate commercial agent and former U.S. consul there, obtained depositions from Patrick Kennedy and Edward Lynch. After that, Dowling and Confederate Army Lieutenant James L. Capston suspected the ship sought recruits, rather than coal or repairs.\(^7\) Lynch and Kennedy heard that the vessel would take on men. That report seemed to develop from Captain Winslow's original intention to bring aboard a few stranded American merchant seamen who might have sought support from the United States consul.\(^8\) The two Irishmen went out to the ship, where they got some meals and learned that the Union Navy paid $12 (£2-8s) per month.

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\(^5\) Seward to Adams, No. 689, Sep. 2, 1863, in Diplomatic Instructions (M77), Roll 77, NA/US; Aug. 10, 1863 notice from Adm. Jones, quoted in Daily Express (Dublin), Dec. 9, 1863 (NLI, MS. 7587, Larcom Papers).

\(^6\) Adm. Jones to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Dec. 7, 1863, and Capt. Winslow's certificate, Dec. 7, 1863 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Winslow to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles, Dec. 11, 1863, in Seward to Adams, No. 804, Jan. 6, 1864, in Diplomatic Instructions (M77), Roll 78, NA/US.


\(^8\) Depositions of Lynch, Nov. 16, 1863, and Kennedy, Nov. 18, 1863, in Mason to Donoughmore, Nov. 23, 1863 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Winslow to the Marquis of Clanricarde, Apr. 6, 1864, quoted in The Nation, Apr. 16, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7587, Larcom Papers).
Kennedy was among those who apparently joined the crew after passing physical examinations. An officer told him he would be a landsman; sailors of that rank received the $12 wage. Kennedy, however, remained in Ireland when the ship sailed.9

Additional statements would have concerned the Confederates. On November 4, John Dunn of Ringaskiddy nearby took out to the Kearsarge at no fee George Patterson and three more men, whom the vessel's petty officer, James Haley from Ringaskiddy, encouraged to enlist. Patterson indicated, though, that a native of the same town did pay for the boat; that individual could have been either Haley or another member of the crew, a Mr. Burn.10 Captain Winslow and some of his officers during that time went ashore, where Winslow, Consul Eastman, and Admiral Jones discussed the law on enlistments. Kennedy and Resident Magistrate John Louis Cronin reported, however, that Eastman was aboard at one point while some of the Irishmen were examined.11

The recruits joined the Kearsarge apparently without the knowledge of its captain, who informed Admiral Jones that he did not seek any men at Queenstown. To remain within British law, he even declined to accept any American merchant seamen through the U.S. consul's office. The ship's

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second-in-command, Lieutenant Commander James S. Thornton, notified Winslow that some Irish hoped to enlist, and Winslow sent instructions not to accept them. Thornton later reported that the visitors, some of whom had to be turned out of the hold and the carpenter’s locker, were sent ashore before the vessel’s departure. Winslow also denied knowing any more Irishmen were aboard when he sailed from Queenstown under Jones’s orders on the night of November 5-6, having spent well over the customary twenty-four hours in port. To the Earl of Donoughmore, that claim meant the American officer was either dishonest or otherwise unfit for command.

The incident drew strong reaction in Ireland and Britain. Although Cork’s revenue collector thought the men’s sailing in an American warship indicated enlistment, he could not prove it. The actions of the U.S. Navy officers nevertheless angered Earl Russell. According to the Irish press, the case confirmed reports of United States recruiting. The Irish Times believed the Foreign Enlistment Act had been broken, and Dublin’s Daily Express marveled at signing up Irishmen in the fortified port.

As for the stowaways, some of them remained below decks till the Kearsarge passed the Cork lighthouse. The Irishmen worked on the voyage to

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13 Winslow’s Dec. 7, 1863 certificate (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Dowling to Benjamin, [No. 1], Nov. 25, 1863, and Capston to same, [No. 3], Dec. 3, 1863, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, LC; Daily Express (Dublin), Dec. 9, 1863 (NLI, MS. 7587, Larcom Papers); Cork Examiner, n.d., cited in Weekly Express (Waterford), Nov. 7, 1863; Hansard 3, clxxiv, 299 (Donoughmore).


France. They were sent ashore temporarily at Brest, then received physical examinations aboard and enlisted in the Union Navy, according to the men themselves. One such recruit said an officer told them the pay was $18 per month; seamen earned that amount.\footnote{Jones to Secretary of the Admiralty, Dec. 7, 1863 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); \textit{Cork Herald}, n.d., quoted in \textit{Evening Mail} (Dublin), Dec. 28, 1863 (NLI, MS. 7587, Larcom Papers); U.S. Navy pay table, in Schuyler, Hartley, & Graham, \textit{Illustrated Catalog of Civil War Military Goods}, p. 90.} The Captain landed them there as he planned to do, Commander Thornton wrote. Winslow, however, said he did not leave them ashore because they might enlist on the C.S.S. \textit{Florida} cruising nearby. Thornton added that the "destitute" Irish were registered on the ship to receive some support; Captain Winslow otherwise would have had to pay for their food and clothing himself. The crew also contributed money for the new men's uniforms.\footnote{Winslow to Consul Edwin S. Eastman, Dec. 7, 1863, Thornton to Winslow, Dec. 7, 1863, and Winslow's Dec. 7, 1863 certificate (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); \textit{The Times}, Mar. 22, 1864, and Winslow to Clanricarde, Apr. 6, 1864, quoted in \textit{The Nation}, Apr. 16, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7587, Larcom Papers); \textit{New York Times}, Apr. 23, 1864.}

The \textit{Kearsarge} remained at Brest in search of the \textit{Florida} until December 5, 1863, when the Union warship left for Ireland. On the morning of December 7, Winslow's vessel landed sixteen men at Queenstown.\footnote{Winslow's Dec. 7, 1863 certificate, Winslow to Jones, Dec. 7, 1863, and Jones to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Dec. 8, 1863 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); dispatch from Roche's Point, Co. Cork, 10:30 a.m. [Dec. 7, 1863], cited in \textit{The Munster Express} (Waterford), Dec. 12, 1863.} They appeared to be wearing U.S. Navy uniforms.\footnote{\textit{Daily Express} (Dublin), Dec. 9 and 14, 1863 (NLI, MS. 7587, Larcom Papers); \textit{Regulations for the Uniform and Dress of the Navy and Marine Corps of the United States} (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co., 1852; reprint: comp. Jacques N. Jacobson, 1973), pagination NA; Schuyler, Hartley, & Graham, \textit{Illustrated Catalog of Civil War Military Goods}, p. 86.} Whether the ship came back because of instructions its captain may have received at Brest, or because of Confederate agents' pressure on Britain, is not clear. One newspaper reported that the recruits did not know why the vessel returned them to Ireland. The resident magistrate who would hear their case, though, joined the Cork customs
collector in suggesting that the men were told the British Government demanded that Captain Winslow bring them back. That officer said he did so to avoid misleading Admiral Jones, since Winslow had promised not to sign up anyone at Queenstown.\(^{20}\) Jones considered the landing “irregular” because the Kearsarge officers failed to notify port authorities beforehand, but The Times thought the fact that the Irishmen did not serve in the Navy preserved British neutrality.\(^ {21}\)

Although the Captain brought the individuals back to Ireland, his judgment in general dismayed Minister Charles Francis Adams in London, who had first thought Winslow was entrapped. Adams wrote to Secretary of State William H. Seward on December 11, 1863, “It is very much to be regretted that so few of our naval officers seem to be gifted with prudence when cruising near these shores.”\(^ {22}\) The Minister transmitted the most favorable information to Earl Russell, however, such as Consul Eastman’s incredulous denial of knowledge of the Kearsarge enlistments. Adams also forwarded to Russell Captain Winslow’s account of discovering and returning the aspiring recruits who had hidden aboard, perhaps with the crew’s help.\(^ {23}\)

Officials in Ireland took the sixteen Kearsarge men into custody on December 7. It is interesting to note that customs surveyor Nicholas Seymour participated in the initial questioning of the men, since the U.S. had not yet paid N.G. Seymour’s yard for nine tons of coal delivered to the Kearsarge at


\(^{22}\) Adams to Seward, No. 548, Dec. 4, 1863, and No. 553, Dec. 11, 1863, in Dispatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain (M30), Roll 80, NA/US.

Queenstown in November 1863. Later that month, local authorities committed John Sullivan, Thomas Murphy, Edward Pyburn, Denis Leary, John Murphy, and Daniel O'Connell for trial for a misdemeanor violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act. It is not known why the other nine men were not charged. The first six were released on £20 bail and two sureties of £10 each, leading the Marquis of Clanricarde to fear the United States Government could discharge its responsibility for only £240.

At the March 1864 Assizes, the defendants pleaded guilty. Justice William N. Keogh and the Attorney General released them with a warning about the dangers of joining the Union service. The judge considered Kearsarge officers more guilty than the defendants, who were ignorant of the law in Ireland's first U.S. enlistment case. The Irish press praised the Government for prosecuting American violations of British neutrality, particularly when America insisted on that neutrality. The United States, which stayed out of the Crimean War, had even protested British recruiting in the U.S. for that conflict.

Following Judge Keogh's lead, the Marquis of Clanricarde suggested questioning the ship's officers. The U.S. had promised to remove Eastman and Captain Winslow from their posts if necessary. Gideon Welles, the Secretary of

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the Navy, also looked into the matter. Adams and Secretary Seward further objected to prosecuting the *Kearsarge* men while other British subjects remained free after joining or preparing Confederate ships in Britain.

Interest in the case continued in spring 1864, even after the court released the Irishmen. Clanricarde and the Earl of Donoughmore, both Southern sympathizers, suggested that the results indicated British partiality for the North. In April, Minister Adams wrote to Earl Russell about some possible problem with Petty Officer Haley, but Adams’ April 14 dispatch to Washington noted Haley’s suspected “connivance” in the *Kearsarge* events. Secretary Seward earlier referred to the “irregularity” of the crew’s role in the recruiting incident. Although naval officers who deliberately violated British enlistment laws would be punished, Secretary Welles recommended postponing an inquiry until the vessel could be spared from patrolling European waters.

The *Kearsarge*’s sudden arrival at London’s Victoria Docks for boiler repairs in late March and early April 1864 formed a troublesome postscript to the Queenstown case. Captain Winslow did not request formal authorization from British officials before the visit, just as he gave no notice of landing the men in Ireland. He did seek approval from the American Minister’s office for his

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28 Hansard 3, clxxiv, 440-50 (Clanricarde); Seward to Adams, No. 791, Dec. 26, 1863, and No. 819, Jan. 18, 1864, and Welles to Seward, Jan. 5 [1864], in Seward to Adams, No. 804, Jan. 6, 1864, in *Diplomatic Instructions* (M77), Roll 78, NA/US.

29 Adams to Seward, No. 697, May 20, 1864, in *Dispatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain* (M30), Roll 82, NA/US; Seward to Adams, No. 893, Apr. 4, 1864, in *Diplomatic Instructions* (M77), Roll 78, NA/US.

30 Hansard 3, clxxiv, 295-7 (Clanricarde), 299 (Donoughmore); Adams to Seward, No. 658, Apr. 14, 1864, in *Dispatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain* (M30), Roll 82, NA/US.

31 Adams to Russell, Apr. 11, 1864, in Adams to Seward, No. 658, Apr. 14, 1864, in *Dispatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain* (M30), Roll 82, NA/US; Seward to Adams, No. 801, Jan. 5, 1864, in *Diplomatic Instructions* (M77), Roll 78, NA/US.

32 Seward to Adams, No. 947, May 16, 1864, in *Diplomatic Instructions* (M77), Roll 78, NA/US.
London stop, however. Adams nevertheless demanded that he sail at once after the "embarrassing" incident, and that he obtain permission from Britain in the future to remain in its ports for more than twenty-four hours.33

The press also carried Winslow's April 6, 1864 letter to Clanricarde about arrangements on board to support the Irish stowaways, whom the Captain termed "miserable trash." Two days later, Adams complained to the State Department:

... it will be extremely difficult for me to rely upon the preservation of friendly relations with this Government unless very strong injunctions are laid upon the Officers of the Navy who visit this coast not to interfere by raising questions or entering into public discussions over which I can have no control.34

President Lincoln and Secretary Welles likewise deplored Winslow's actions.35 Lieutenant Capston, though, found the outcome more encouraging for the South: "Mr. Adams and Captain Winslow word of honor at present is Considerably below par Their lieing Documents to Earl Russell has made the Confederacy more popular in this Country [Ireland] than any thing that may occur for some time." (original usage)36

During the Kearsarge controversy, America's wartime labor needs engendered a recruiting case involving several more men. Some emigrants received enlistment bounties and fees when firms brought them over as draft

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33 Adams to Seward, No. 644, Apr. 8, 1864, and No. 652, Apr. 8, 1864 (sic), in Dispatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain (M30), Roll 82, NA/US.
34 Cork Reporter, n.d., cited in The Irish Times, Apr. 14, 1864, and Winslow to Clanricarde, Apr. 6, 1864, quoted in The Nation, Apr. 16, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7587, Larcom Papers); Winslow to Clanricarde, Apr. 6, 1864, quoted in New York Times, Apr. 23, 1864; Adams to Seward, No. 652, Apr. 8, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain (M30), Roll 82, NA/US.
35 Seward to Adams, No. 915, Apr. 22, 1864, in Diplomatic Instructions (M77), Roll 78, NA/US.
36 Capston to Benjamin, [No. 6], Apr. 14, 1864, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, L/C.
substitutes, "trafficking thus in flesh to an extent unknown since the stoppage of the slave trade," in Shelby Foote's words.\textsuperscript{37} Jerome G. Kidder of Boston planned to obtain up to 1,850 foreigners to work for $1.25-$1.50 (5/- to 6/-) per day for the Charlestown, Massachusetts Waterworks, the Franklin Coal Mines, Wall & Lynch, and the Boston, Hartford, & Erie Railroad.\textsuperscript{38} Adams, however, questioned Kidder's papers, and Waterford's \textit{Munster Express} correctly concluded that Patrick H. Finney represented Kidder rather than New England railways. Consul Frederick Lousada in Boston referred to the two men's "nefarious conspiracy." That diplomat, after meeting Finney, commented in stinging terms, "... a more villainous specimen of humanity, as far as outward signs go, I have rarely seen, just the tool fitted for the work."\textsuperscript{39}

Ella Lonn, unlike Lousada, considers Finney's efforts legitimate, but Capston and Britain's Attorney General, Sir Hugh Cairnes, thought labor recruiting sometimes camouflaged enlistment. Emerson Fite remarks, "... they [emigrants in general] were led over to these shores in some instances by fair promises, and then through whisky, bluff, and threats, just before landing, led to join the army."\textsuperscript{40} As described above, the firms represented by Kidder sought up to 1,850 workers. Finney's stated goal in


\textsuperscript{38} Jerome G. Kidder to Patrick H. Finney, Dec. 17, 1863, Kidder's letter in the \textit{Courier} (Boston), probably Mar. 1864, unidentified Boston newspaper article, James McDonald & Co. (contractors for the Charlestown Waterworks) to Finney, Dec. 15, 1863, Edwin C. Bales of the Franklin Coal Mines to same, Dec. 16, 1863, Wall & Lynch to same, Dec. 16, 1863, and Edward Crane (for the Boston, Hartford, & Erie Railroad) to same, Dec. 16, 1863 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).

\textsuperscript{39} Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 21 ("nefarious conspiracy") and 23 ("villainous"), 1864, in Lyons to Russell, Apr. 8, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Lonn, \textit{Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy}, pp. 424-425; \textit{The Munster Express} (Waterford), Apr. 2, 1864.

Ireland fluctuated between 1,000 and 3,000 men over ten days, though, which perhaps led officials there to question his interest in laborers. Finney's insistence on physical fitness and his emphasis on Army, Navy, and militia veterans reinforced police concerns about his military recruiting.

Besides the number of men wanted, low pay rendered the Kidder-Finney operation suspect. Some believed that the immigrants were offered less money to make them enlist. Firms corresponding with Finney specified up to $1.50 per day, giving a maximum of $36 (£7-4s.) per month for a four-week month and a six-day workweek. Kidder, however, wrote to his agent, "In regard to the rate which you are to give you must Judge -- but of course it must be a low rate not very much above the going rates in Ireland --" Surviving copies of the men's labor agreement leave the wage blank. Despite that gap, Kidder, Finney, Pike, and two of Finney's recruits confirmed that the amount was to be $10 (£2)

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41 2nd Sub-Inspector Crosbie M. Harvey to the Co. Galway Inspector from Loughrea, Jan. 9, 1864 (2,000 to 3,000 men), 2nd Sub-Inspector F.W. Cullen to the Inspector General from Galway, Jan. 15, 1864 (1,000 men), Dublin Metropolitan Police "C" Division Inspector W. Armstrong to "G" Division, Jan. 18, 1864 (1,700 men), and D.M.P. "G" Div. Superintendent Daniel Ryan to the Commissioners of Police, Jan. 19, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).


44 See copies of the contract in the Crown case against Finney, Jan. 27, 1864, and in Finney to Sabel & Searle, [Jan. 17, 1864] (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).
per month, plus passage, clothing, and room and board. A U.S. Army private's monthly pay of $13 (£2-12s.) in early 1864 would have been more attractive. It is not known why Finney's contracts in Ireland did not indicate a wage; perhaps he had yet to determine "the going rates" there.

Travel arrangements for Kidder's men, like their pay, raised further questions. On December 16, 1863, Page Richardson & Co. of Boston sent a letter to Sabel & Searle of Liverpool to organize the emigrants' transport. The American firm added, "The Bearer of this Mr. Patrick H. Finney it has been thought best to send out to attend to the matter and to see that none but able bodied men are taken men in good health and who would not be likely to fall sick on their hands." (original usage) E.C. Bales of the Franklin Coal Mines also wrote to Finney from Boston on the same date, seeking "... young healthy men that we can be sure will not fall Sick on our hands." The parallel language suggests that the writers of the Richardson and Bales letters might have discussed the issue previously. Perhaps the same person even composed both letters, although one now can neither confirm nor deny the resulting inference of collusion.

Finney reached Dublin in early January 1864 and went on to County Galway in search of those laborers. On the evening of January 6, people in Athenry noticed a strange man, well-dressed in black cloth, carrying a crutch


and limping on a cork leg and foot, who was in the Railway Hotel Coffee Room there from about 9:30 p.m. to 11:30 p.m. He arrived from Dublin on the train that night and seemingly had just come from America; a Dublin police inspector would later mention Finney’s “Boots made in the American Style with broad Square toes.” Two observers thought the cork leg resembled those issued to Union Army amputees, but another police report said the man’s lame right leg was wooden. The individual in question offered young laborers in the area free passage, en route to work for one year for various railways, coal companies, or the Charlestown Waterworks. From Lancashire, John Hynes wrote to Consul William B. West in Dublin, asking if Finney really were drilling emigrants near Galway. Hynes stated, “[H]undreds of young Irishmen here would willingly go to America if Mr. Feeney (sic) would only pay our passages.”

Finney soon met his first legal challenge in Ireland. Police arrested him on January 9, 1864 in Dalystown, near Loughrea, County Galway, after the Loughrea hotel-keeper reported that Finney sought men to go to America. On

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51 2nd Head Constable M. Maher to Co. Galway Inspector P. Hobart from Athenry, Jan. 7, 1864, 2nd Sub-Inspector F.W. Cullen to the Inspector General from Galway, Jan. 12, 1864, and copy of Finney’s labor agreement in the Crown case against Finney, Jan. 27, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P. 16765 (1864)).

52 John Hynes to Consul William B. West from Lancashire, Mar. 28, 1864, in West to Seward, No. 54, Apr. 2, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.
being brought before the Marquis of Clanricarde that day, Finney mentioned his
contacts with the U.S. consul in Dublin when he was questioned about funding.
Clanricarde regretted having had too little evidence to do more than release
Kidder’s representative with a warning.\footnote{2nd Sub-Inspector C.M. Harvey to the Co. Galway Inspector from Loughrea, Jan. 9, 1864, and Co. Galway Inspector P. Hobart to the Inspector General from Loughrea, Jan. 9, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Hansard, clxiii, 1317-24, 1332-3 (Clanricarde).}

The defendant later said the Marquis “was quite satisfied” with his papers and his “four or five letters from contractors,” in which Irish authorities found nothing incriminating. Consul Lousada in Boston nevertheless feared those documents were false.\footnote{2nd Sub-Inspector F. W. Cullen to the Inspector General from Galway, Jan. 15, 1864 (“quite satisfied”), Boston newspaper article in Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 26, 1864 (“four or five letters”), Lousada to [Lyons], Mar. 15, 1864, Co. Galway Inspector P. Hobart to the Inspector General from Loughrea, Jan. 9, 1864, James McDonald & Co. to Finney, Dec. 15, 1863, E.C. Bales to same, Dec. 16, 1863, Wall & Lynch to same, Dec. 16, 1863, and E. Crane to same, Dec. 16, 1863 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Hansard, clxiii, 1317-24.}

Finney would not face official prosecution in Ireland again after Clanricarde released him, but the recruiter’s activities continued to create widespread concern. The Irish Constabulary circulated descriptions of the labor agent: about forty years of age and 5’8” tall, with dark hair, a sallow complexion, and a lame right leg, and wearing a black frock coat and dark trousers and vest.\footnote{Jan. 9, 1864 description from 2nd Sub-Inspector C.M. Harvey, Jan. 18, 1864 statement from D.M.P. “B” Div. Inspector Edward Cunningham, and Feb. 13, 1864 statement from D.M.P. “G” Div. Acting Inspector Edward Hughes (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).}

Newspapers in Galway and Longford also had some doubts about setting Finney free. New York’s Irish-American further considered his hiring trip unnecessary, and therefore suspect, given extensive immigration.\footnote{Galway Express, n.d., quoted in Longford Journal, Jan. 23, 1864; Irish-American (New York), Feb. 13 and Mar. [19], 1864.} Undaunted by his arrest, Finney continued to seek workers in Galway. He inquired about

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their passage at an Atlantic Royal Mail Steamship Company office, then
returned to Dublin.57

Suspicions were one thing, but paper was something else, and one
particular clause in Finney's labor agreement troubled the Irish Law Officers. In
the version seized from Finney on his arrest and presented to Clanricarde, men
would sign:

... that we will on our arrival at Boston aforesaid, commence to labour for
said Patrick H. Phinney or his assigns -- either on the Charlestown water
works in the City of Charlestown or the Webster & South Bridge Rail
Road in the employ of Wall & Lynch -- or the Boston Hartford & Erie Rail
Road -- in the employ of E. Crone -- in the state of Massachusetts -- or on
the Pacific Rail Road -- or for the Bear Valley Coal company in the
employ of Geo. P. Sanger -- or for the Franklin Coal Company -- in the
employ of E.C. Bates -- in the State of Pennsylvania or otherwise or
elsewhere -- wheresoever labour may be needed.

The Irish Law Officers marked the words "or otherwise or elsewhere --
wheresoever labour may be needed" in their opinion, and observed that "some
words used in the form of agreement found upon Finneys (sic) person shew that
the persons employed would be bound to take such employment as he --
Finney -- or his assigns should determine on and dictate." Curiously enough,
the marked phrase was omitted from the copy of the labor agreement Finney
posted to Sabel & Searle. The version they sent to Dublin attorney Jeremiah
Perry, who passed it on to Under-Secretary Thomas A. Larcom, also lacked the

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57 2nd Sub-Inspector F.W. Cullen to the Inspector General from Galway, Jan. 15, 1864,
and D.M.P. "G" Div. Supt. Ryan to the Commissioners of Police, Jan. 19, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O.,
R.P., 16765 (1864)).
pertinent clause.\textsuperscript{58} It would appear that Finney did not want to remind authorities of the words in question, given the Union Army's need for labor in 1864.

While Finney traveled in Galway, his clerk, William Pike, signed up men in Dublin. The recruiting agent promised Pike, whom he hired on January 6, 1864, a 2/ (50¢) stipend per laborer, free passage, and a job in America in addition to his wages. Finney instructed his assistant to tell those individuals about higher military pay. According to Pike, his employer believed that the emigrants would more likely enlist because in a year they could save £145 ($725) as soldiers, but only £5 ($25) as laborers.\textsuperscript{59} The new clerk enrolled about 300 workers who could discharge the debt for their passages by joining the military, and then he selected 27 as the first group to sail. When Finney failed to meet 500 others in the Phoenix Park on January 21, his representative on that occasion explained that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland first had to examine Finney's papers. Dublin police, however, said that the recruiter did not go to the park that day because he had not completed his men's travel arrangements.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{58} See the copy enclosed in 2nd Sub-Inspector C.M. Harvey to the Co. Galway Inspector from Loughrea, Jan. 9, 1864. The minor differences in spelling and punctuation in the Crown case against Finney, enclosed with Crown Solicitor Thomas Mostyn to Under-Secretary Larcom from Dublin, Feb. 4, 1864, are immaterial. Compare those two copies with the one used in Finney to Sabel & Searle [from Dublin, Jan. 17, 1864], Sabel & Searle to Jeremiah Perry from Liverpool, Jan. 18, 1864, and Perry to Under-Secretary Larcom from Dublin, Jan. 20, 1864. All of these documents, plus the Feb. 2, 1864 opinion of the Law Officers of Ireland ("some words used") are in NAI, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864).


Finney let down not only the prospective emigrants at the meeting, but also his own assistant, who sued him seven days later for three weeks' back pay. Pike claimed that he learned of Finney's military purposes only after being hired. The Head Police Office Exchange Court in Dublin nevertheless ruled that he could not receive compensation for "an unlawful act," such as assisting with recruiting. Although there was enough proof to deny the plaintiff his money, there was not sufficient evidence to prosecute the defendant under the Foreign Enlistment Act. The latter had not demonstrated an "open intention" to go beyond hiring laborers. The Irish Law Officers therefore sought an additional statement from Pike, noting that "there are strong grounds for believing that he [Finney] is engaging men for the American Army under colour of engaging them for public Works (sic)." Those authorities apparently considered the short-term clerk a reliable source, even with the grievance that Finney never paid him.61

Pike did offer a supplementary document on February 10, 1864. In that material, perhaps his most significant observation dealt with Finney's intentions:

On the last occasion I was with him [Finney], the 22nd [of January, 1864], he said positively that the men were wanted for the U.S. Army and nothing else, but that the work was there to be done, for if he had not such a cloak to blind them with, the British Government would be down on him and he would very likely get 20 years imprisonment if it could be proved that he was taking men from Ireland for the American Army --

The words, "... the work was there to be done, for if he had not such a cloak to blind them with, the British Government would be down on him...," echoed Kidder's concern about "how to proceed in case of any interference with his

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engageing (sic) labourers by the British Government." Pike also reiterated Finney's belief that the emigrants would inevitably find enlisting "the best thing they could do," since military bounties and a private's monthly pay of $16 (£3-4s.) could yield $700 (£140) in one year. Beyond that, the erstwhile clerk now stated that the post in America which the recruiter promised him would have been as a lieutenant in a state regiment. The Irish Law Officers concluded that Pike's evidence by itself, even with the statement on February 10, would not convict Finney under the Foreign Enlistment Act. Like the jurists, Earl Russell wanted more proof of recruiting.

Kidder's agent remained busy while Pike gave additional evidence. Finney left for Liverpool during the first week of February 1864, presumably to arrange passage, then returned to Dublin on February 9 and set out for Galway the next day. Police watched his movements there and in Clifden, and reported that he sought more laborers. Finney went back to Dublin three days later, still under official observation.

Legal proceedings against Finney in Ireland suggested some American connections. For instance, Pike said the agent mentioned in Dublin in January 1864 that Union troops received $16 (£3-4s.) per month, but their pay did not increase from $13 (£2-12s.) to $16 for another five months. Henry Wilson of

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63 Pike's Feb. 10, 1864 statement (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).
65 D.M.P. "G" Div. Supt. Ryan to the Commissioners of Police, Feb. 4, 1864, same to same, Feb. 10, 1864, same to same, Feb. 11, 1864, same to same, Feb. 16, 1864, and 2nd Sub-Inspector F.W. Cullen to Co. Galway Inspector B. Millson from Galway, Feb. 16, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).
Massachusetts, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, would have been aware of a proposed raise. To fill his state's draft quotas and to protect its labor supply, he and Governor John Albion Andrew emphasized recruiting foreigners and other outsiders, which left Massachusetts with "a tarnished reputation for patriotism." Wilson openly admitted that 907 Germans were brought over and enlisted in Massachusetts units. Finney further discussed the emigration plan with Governor Andrew, who reportedly lacked funds to invest in it. Andrew's state also faced a draft when Finney's men arrived in spring 1864. Announcing the pay increase ahead of time might have led individuals to postpone enlisting, just as they waited to see which areas offered higher bounties. A person connected with Massachusetts, whether Andrew or Wilson or someone else, may well have informed Kidder and Finney of the raise privately to encourage their Irishmen to emigrate.

Finney dealt not only with state officials, but also with U.S. diplomats, who in turn apparently linked him with Irish nationalists. The American Civil War offered Fenians military training. When Finney mentioned contacting "the American Consul at Dublin," perhaps he meant a prominent member of the movement, James Cantwell. United States officials nominated and confirmed

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the latter in that post, then withdrew his name when the Home Office failed to approve him. It is not clear whether the candidate's own politics or Finney's emigration plan led to that result.\textsuperscript{71} Whatever those individuals did, some thought Irish revolutionaries and American recruiters collaborated. Lieutenant Capston and the Earl of Donoughmore believed that Fenians helped to enlist Irishmen for Union forces.\textsuperscript{72}

Despite such views, Fenians not only avoided but counteracted Finney's activities. The organization's newspaper, the \textit{Irish People}, stated during his operations in Ireland "that no Irish Nationalists at all events are engaged in the Federal recruiting service." It added on February 6, 1864 that Irishmen were needed more at home.\textsuperscript{73} Beyond that, Massachusetts Fenian leader and Irish Brigade veteran John Warren helped Finney's emigrants when they later refused to enlist in Boston.\textsuperscript{74}

Lack of cooperation from Cantwell's organization did not deter Kidder's agent, who still had some nationalist connections, probably through Consul West. One first should link Finney to the diplomat. The recruiter cited the United States' Dublin consul as his source of funds, and often visited that official,

\begin{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{72} Capston to Benjamin, [No. 2], Nov. 9, 1863, in \textit{Confederate State Department Records}, Roll 6, LC; Hansard 3, clxiii, 1328-30 (Donoughmore).

\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Irish People} (Dublin), Jan. 23 and Feb. 6, 1864, quoted in P.S. O'Hegarty, \textit{A History of Ireland under the Union, 1801 to 1922} (London: Methuen, 1952), pp. 435-438.

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according to Pike. Finney also was to have the emigrants sign their contracts before an unnamed U.S. consul who had sent related documents to Minister Adams. West served at the Dublin consulate at that time, and he forwarded Kidder’s papers to Adams. Thus West likely was the “American Consul at Dublin” whom Finney mentioned before Clanricarde. West avoided witnessing the signing of the labor agreements, though, as Adams instructed. The Minister, apparently suspecting illegal enlistment, also declined to notify the Home Office, which might seize Atlantic Royal Mail Steamship Company vessels for carrying the emigrants involved. Sabel & Searle inquired through Dublin attorney Jeremiah Perry as to whether the law permitted Kidder’s men to sail aboard their ships, but the Home Office reply to the Irish authorities is not available.

Although West could not see the contracts signed, he linked Finney to another revolutionary group, the National Brotherhood of St. Patrick. The National Brotherhood tended to prefer an open political approach to the secret military plans of James Stephens’ Irish Republican Brotherhood. Such a difference may have influenced West’s criticism of Fenian James Cantwell, his unsuccessful rival for the Dublin consulate. While serving as Consul in Galway, the former furnished articles about America to James Roche’s Galway American, and even sought Federal financial help for the newspaper. That

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75 Hansard 3, clxxiii, 1317-24; D.M.P. “G” Div. Supt. Ryan to the Commissioners of Police, Jan. 26, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).
76 Finney to Sabel & Searle [from Dublin, Jan. 17, 1864], and Pike’s Feb. 10, 1864 statement (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); West to Seward, No. 51, Mar. 5, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.
77 West to Seward, No. 51, Mar. 5, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US; Sabel & Searle to Jeremiah Perry, Jan. 18, 1864, Perry to Larcom, Jan. 20, 1864, and unsigned Jan. 21, 1864 memorandum (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).
journal, soon to become the *United Irishman and Galway American* in Dublin, supported the National Brotherhood of St. Patrick and challenged the Fenian *Irish People* for the nationalist readership. The State Department once reprimanded West for sending an address from the National Brotherhood directly to President Lincoln, rather than through the Dublin consulate. Roche himself also reportedly favored an uprising during Young Ireland veteran Terence McManus' funeral observances in Dublin in 1861. The I.R.B., however, would not conduct such an operation until 1867.

The two groups diverged not only over policy and publishing, but even over U.S. recruiting in Ireland. Fenians opposed the practice, as described above. Roche's paper, though, supported enlistment in general and Finney's activities in particular. The *United Irishman and Galway American* eagerly anticipated that Kidder's agent would return for more emigrants to work in America.

Regardless of who cooperated with the emigration plan, the time came to leave Ireland, which Minister Adams' concerns may have accelerated. Delays in sailing from Galway and difficulty in finding room for 100 men on a ship departing from Derry led Finney to set out from Dublin. On February 22, 1864,
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he began to issue travel vouchers to his men, who exchanged them for tickets at
Mr. Delany's office at No. 13 North Wall. The first group of 43 individuals left the
North Wall for Liverpool on the night of February 22; 55 others went a day later.
Kidder's agent reportedly regretted that problems with the authorities limited his
number to 100 emigrants.84 They sailed from Liverpool on the steamer
Nova Scotian on February 27, bound for Portland, Maine. There is no record
whether Pike accompanied them. He recalled, however, that Finney said in
January:

...although the time at sea was very short, yet he [Finney] could have the
men trained and fit to take up arms as soon as they would land, as he
could drill them each day during the voyage, and that on their arrival,
and before landing recruiting Sergeants would come aboard . . . .85

Once the vessel was at sea, unspecified comments from its crew made
the Irishmen suspect they were meant to enlist in America. Michael Kirby added
that Finney said to him during the voyage, "Tell them [Kirby's fellow emigrants]
that they had better be prepared to take the musket when they land." Another
emigrant, Pat McDermott, wore his hat to hide his bad eye. He stated that
Finney remarked, on discovering that condition, "I have been rightly sucked in

84 D.M.P. "G" Div. Supt. Ryan to the Commissioners of Police, Feb. 23, 1864 (43 men),
and same to same, Feb. 24, 1864 (55 men) (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); The Times,
Mar. 31, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); United Irishman and Galway American (Dublin),
n.d., quoted in Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864.

Various sources indicate that Finney brought anywhere from 98 to over 120 men with
him. 100 would be a fairly close estimate. See Superintendent Ryan's two reports here (98 men),
Freeman's Journal (Dublin), n.d., quoted in Courier (Boston), [Mar. 1864] (suggests 99 men),
unidentified Boston newspaper article (102 men), and Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 11, 1864 (over
120 men) (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864 (100 men).

85 D.M.P. "G" Div. Supt. Ryan to the Commissioners of Police, Jan. 26, 1864 (Pike),
unidentified Boston newspaper article (Mar. 1864), and Consul Henry John Murray to Lyons from
(1864)).
by you." Finney himself denied it.86 With a defective eye, one could be a laborer. Losing sight in the right eye, however, interfered with aiming a rifle.87 That consequently barred one from becoming an enlisted man, though not necessarily a commissioned officer, in the Union Army.88 It seems, then, that Finney regarded his emigrants as prospective enlisted men who would receive military bounties. Landing at Queenstown marked the end of the Kearsarge recruits’ U.S. service; for Finney’s men, landing at Portland, Maine marked the beginning.

Present-day trans-Atlantic travelers who experience jet lag may readily empathize with the fatigue Patrick Finney’s men must have felt on landing at Portland, Maine, in March 1864.¹ Both groups would appreciate the excitement of being in a new country, but both more than likely would soon want something to eat and a comfortable place to sleep. In Portland and Boston, Finney’s immigrants found discomfort instead.² Thus recruitment practices which were a

¹ Based on various sources, it is possible to name thirty-four of the approximately 100 men Finney brought to Portland and Boston: Martin Brophy, Patrick Brophy, Thomas Burke, ----- Butler, Michael F. Byrne, ----- Cahill, ----- Carey, Edward Cassidy, Jackey Connor, John Connor, Edward Cummins, ----- Frost, ----- Fullam, Simon (or Simeon) Gavin, John Glannan (or Glennon or Giannah), ----- Hayden, James Higgins, Martin Hogan, ----- Kearney, ----- Keenan, Michael Kirby, Pat McDermott, Martin McManus, Thomas McManus, William Moore, Michael Moran, ----- Murry, Johnny Nolan, ----- Shea (or O'Shea), ----- Ryan, Fred Taylor, Thomas Tully, ----- Ward, and ----- Wolfe. See John Connor to his brother, Thomas Connor, from Boston, Mar. 12, 1864, quoted in Dublin Metropolitan Police “G” Division Superintendent Daniel Ryan to the Commissioners of Police, Apr. 2, 1864, unidentified Boston newspaper article, and Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864 (National Archives of Ireland (NA/I), Chief Secretary’s Office, Registered Papers (C.S.O., R.P.), 16765 (1864)); Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19 and Apr. 2, 1864; Pilot, quoted in The Munster Express (Waterford), Apr. 2, 1864; statement of Edward S. Morris in Record Group 110: Records of the Provost Marshal General’s Bureau, Entry 467, “Statements of Testimony and Related Records in the Cases of British Subjects Who Were Improperly Enlisted in the U.S. Army, May-August 1864” (hereinafter cited as Portland evidence book, RG110, E467), National Archives of the United States (NA/US); and Thomas McManus to Francis McManus, Mar. 17, 1864, and Edward Cummins to his parents from Boston, Mar. 23, 1864, in Consul William B. West to Secretary of State William H. Seward, No. 57, Apr. 2, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.

² The Times, Mar. 31, 1864 (National Library of Ireland (NLI), MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864.
subject for theory and debate in Ireland were immediately translated into practice in America for those men.

Quite a reception awaited Finney's Irishmen when they reached Portland aboard the steamer *Nova Scotian* on March 9, 1864, after about fourteen days at sea.\(^3\) Landing between 9 and 10 a.m., they anticipated taking an afternoon train to Boston.\(^4\) The "drink, cigars & food" proffered at the docks did not always attract recruits, as Thomas I~ Manus wrote: "... when we landed there were hundreds of people there to meet us: and they gave us Brandy, Whiskey, Pies, Pudding, Cigars, or anything we wished for to enlist along with them: faith: we took all we wanted and did not go with them after." (original usage) Thomas Burke and Edward Cassidy, however, apparently indicated an interest in enlisting, then went off to find something to eat and drink.\(^5\) In addition, recruiting agent John M. Todd reported giving Michael Moran his card at the docks that morning. Two unidentified men who said they were Irish also met the new arrivals, and invited Moran and three other immigrants to Bradley's Hotel. Thomas Tully and James Higgins went there as well.\(^6\)

Soon after landing, twenty to thirty of the newcomers ended up at Bradley's crowded bar. Several had drinks purchased by one of the two men


\(^4\) Statements of Thomas Tully, Michael Moran, and James Higgins in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US; *Pilot* (Boston), NA/US.

\(^5\) Edward Cummins to his parents from Boston, Mar. 23, 1864 ("drink, cigars & food"), and Thomas McManus to Francis McManus, Mar. 17, 1864, in West to Seward, No. 57, Apr. 20, 1864, in *Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin* (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.

\(^6\) Statements of Tully, Moran, Higgins, and John M. Todd in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.
who first greeted them and invited them to the hotel. According to Higgins and Moran, however, those two did not mention enlisting. Businessman James Bradley said no known recruiters were in the bar with them. The immigrants’ conversation, part of which concerned going to Boston, must have been quite noisy; Bradley threw out fifty or sixty customers by 11 a.m.7

About thirty minutes later, James Bradley noticed a noisy crowd watching a fight in front of the nearby Grand Trunk Railroad Depot. City police called it a “riot,” saying those arrested “were so drunk that they did not seem to want to go anywhere but to fight each other.” The British Consul in Portland, Henry John Murray, noted that some of Finney’s emigrants indeed were intoxicated; Tully, Higgins, and Moran remembered nothing further until they awakened in jail on March 10. Michael Moran and two others reportedly tried to rescue one man who was arrested. Then police took them into the depot, as the unnamed person apparently in charge of the immigrants requested. No record has been found to substantiate the claim of W.B. Irish that troops also helped settle the affair.8 Police Officer Harrison G. Cole, a temperance advocate after being charged in the 1850s with selling liquor illegally, said Higgins’, Moran’s, Tully’s, and Michael F. Byrne’s offenses were “drunkenness and disturbing the peace.” Burke and Cassidy were accused of “drunkenness,” but their names did not appear in the jail register Cole kept.9

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The police confined the immigrants at Finney's request. When Burke and Cassidy returned that afternoon from drinking, recruiter Todd considered them too intoxicated to enlist, and they were brought to the jail. There Stewart, and Todd's Irish recruiting assistant, Robert Curran, apparently escorted them to the cells. Cole concluded, "I have no doubt Todd brought Cassidy and Burke there for safekeeping."\(^\text{10}\)

Awakening in jail on the morning of March 10, Tully, Higgins, and Moran promptly asked why they were there, and learned they were confined for being drunk and disorderly. Policemen's estimates of their penalty ranged from $5 (£1) and costs, to thirty or sixty days' imprisonment, or even to three months behind bars. The prisoners thought they might see the judge that morning, or possibly three days later.\(^\text{11}\) Concerning food and drink, officers reported giving Tully something to eat early on March 10, but said most of the Irishmen refused crackers -- also known as hardtack -- and water. Tully and Higgins, however, recalled that police never delivered the food they promised. Moran received nothing to eat, either, but he and Higgins eventually got the water they requested.\(^\text{12}\)

John W. Collins, whom Portland's Mayor appointed a recruiting agent in November 1863, and who would become a city policeman later in March 1864, discussed enlistment with the hungry prisoners on the morning of March 10. Collins raised the question with inmates on previous occasions as well. He persuaded Officer Cole to release Tully from his cell because, the recruiter said, Tully "did not wish to enlist in prison." Tully, however, expressed "astonishment"

\(^{10}\) Statements of Cole, Todd, and John W. Collins in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.

\(^{11}\) Statements of Tully, Moran, Higgins, Cole, and Berrick in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.

at Collins’ trying to sign up a prisoner. That agent denied offering Tully, Byrne, and Higgins their release and breakfast in exchange for enlisting, but admitted telling Tully he would “be as free as the air he breathes” when he did so. The recruiter added that he mentioned bounties when unidentified prisoners asked about them; it is not known whether those individuals were Finney’s men.13

Whatever incentives were used, Collins and Cole said that Tully and other prisoners loyal to the U.S. then encouraged each other to join the military. Higgins and Tully, however, stated that they did not do so. Cole indicated that Higgins joined the prisoners’ discussion, but he later failed to recognize Higgins in person. It appears that either Collins or a policeman presented enlistment papers to an immigrant, most likely Tully, in Deputy Marshal Wentworth’s room that morning. When Tully and Byrne refused to enter the service, a policeman in that room returned the former to his cell, where Tully “said to [Collins] with an oath that he would not enlist.”14

Todd, unlike Collins, came to the jail to collect inmates he said had already agreed to enlist with him, something Moran denied doing. Todd thought the police wanted Moran to count toward filling Portland’s draft quota. Two policemen visited that immigrant separately, each predicting some months’ imprisonment, then offering breakfast and whiskey for enlisting. When Moran said he would rather visit the British Consul than join the service, the second officer became hostile, and two other police who then came in with Todd suggested the alternatives of sixty days in jail or going with Todd to enter the military. The recruiter, however, said he did not hear a policeman present those options. It is not clear whether Cassidy and Burke knew they would be released

without accompanying Todd, as Officer Cole stated, or when they might be freed; no one told Moran he could leave.¹⁵

At least one unidentified person stayed in the Portland jail with Finney’s men. Cole said an immigrant roomed there “to take charge of these men” who were hired in Ireland to go to Boston, adding that someone would come from Boston to collect them. When Tully was first released from his cell, he told an inquiring fellow passenger, who might have been the supervisory one Officer Cole mentioned, that he, Tully, could not accompany him to Boston. This man failed to see Britain’s consul as Tully requested. An unknown individual, who may have been the same person, came in with a policeman to find “lodgings” before enlisting the next day. Perhaps that man was Finney’s immigrant Michael Moran; the latter also reportedly desired to join the army somewhat later, and stayed in jail. It seemed that Moran would sign up with Todd on March 10, however, while the anonymous figure sought to do so with Collins on March 10 or 11.¹⁶

Hunger, thirst, and repeated visits from recruiters and policemen gradually persuaded Finney’s immigrants to enlist, however willing the unnamed man was. Higgins said he would become a soldier if nothing better were available after his release. Tully also considered it, recalling that by the recruiter’s third visit,

I being quite faint from hunger and uncertain of what was going to become of me, made up my mind to go with him [Collins] and do as the Police directed. . . . If I had had any thing to eat, I would have remained there two years before I would have enlisted. (original usage)

¹⁵ Statements of Moran, Todd, and Cole in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.

Higgins, Tully, and Byrne finally decided to sign up in Collins’ recruiting office.\(^{17}\) The authorities did not tell the men themselves that they must enlist to be released, but the alternative was an indefinite wait for the magistrate, followed by one to three months’ imprisonment. In addition, whiskey and breakfast influenced prospective recruits.\(^{18}\)

Enlisting Finney’s men depended on releasing them from jail. With Curran’s and Cole’s help, Todd easily got Deputy Marshal Wentworth to free Cassidy, Burke, and Moran early on March 10, and enlisted them on the quota of the town of Timington. Todd earned a broker’s fee of $15 per recruit, even though Provost Marshal General’s Bureau regulations which took effect on March 1, 1864 set the amount at $10. He gave Curran and Sergeant Stewart about $50 each, which likely came out of the Irishmen’s bounties.\(^{19}\) At the Mayor’s Office at City Hall, Collins asked City Marshal Heald to release the other three immigrants if they faced no further proceedings. The court often discharged drunk and disorderly individuals instead of trying cases of drunkenness. Heald, though, suggested he was not involved with the men Finney sent there. The agent next mentioned the potential recruits to the Mayor, who said he did not want outsiders to think “that men were coerced to enlist at Portland, especially Strangers.” (original usage)\(^{20}\)

\(^{17}\) Statements of Higgins, Tully, and Berrick in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.


\(^{20}\) Statements of Collins and Cole in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.
Officer Cole let the prisoners out of their cells when permission was granted. He and the two recruiters denied that police said to return the men to their cells if they did not enlist, but Moran and Tully disagreed. According to Higgins, "The same policeman that opened my door said, now Collins I turn these men over to you, but if they don't do as you want them to do, bring them back here again." Both Tully and Moran claimed they were not told they could leave. On discharging the prisoners, Cole urged them "not to get drunk again and disturb the peace." The Irishmen at this point might have envied two other men, "confined for running away with the schooner Blue Bell, [who] sawed off some bars and escaped from jail" in Portland almost exactly one year later.

Police continued to supervise Byrne, Tully, and Higgins when those three followed Collins from jail to his recruiting office just before noon on March 10, 1864. That agent reported that he did not see a policeman with them, but inexplicably added that Officer James H. Berrick came with him; Berrick remained in the office after the immigrants enlisted and left. Although Collins said the men were free to leave, the police presence suggested otherwise to Tully, especially when another officer followed him back into the room after the Irishman attempted to reach the British Consulate. Perhaps that individual was City Marshal Heald, who reportedly stayed there a few minutes and left before anyone enlisted.

In his office, Collins promised the men their freedom, and presented recruitment forms without reading them aloud as regulations required. Higgins,
like Tully, decided to notify Consul Murray as soon as possible. The latter immigrant signed the papers and did not attempt to escape because "I was willing they should have their way then, and I would have mine later." Collins added that Tully signed first, saying, "Here goes then in the name of God." After all three men enlisted, the agent took them to Murch's and Gammon's Saloon, where he urged them to drink all they wanted because he would pay the same price. He provided no food, though.

While Collins dealt with his recruits, Todd handled Moran, Cassidy, and Burke. Their declarations of interest in enlisting were dated March 9, although Moran could not recall visiting Todd's office on the 9th. They all signed their enlistment papers on March 10. Contrary to Todd's recollection, Moran said four men in civilian clothes caught him when he fled. The immigrant declined the breakfast they offered, but accepted two drinks. The men then took him to Todd's barber shop, where a barber filled out an enlistment form Moran signed half an hour after taking the drinks. Cassidy and Burke would join the military separately that day.

Collins in the meantime returned Tully, Byrne, and Higgins from the saloon to City Hall for their physical examinations on the afternoon of March 10. It was important that recruits be sober for their medical inspection; in fact, the 4th Connecticut Enrollment District administered sobriety tests to substitutes. Various officials, including Surgeon Charles W. Thomas and


26 Statements of Collins, Tully, Higgins, and Berrick in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.

27 Service records of Cassidy, Moran, and Burke, NA/US; statements of Todd and Moran in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.

28 Statements of Tully and Higgins in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.
Commissioner Edward S. Morris of Maine’s 1st Enrollment District, stated that the Irishmen met that criterion. Army regulations also required the recruiting officer’s presence at recruits’ examinations, and 1st Enrollment District Provost Marshal Captain Charles H. Doughty witnessed it, as Moran and Higgins suggested. To avoid further confinement, Tully stripped for that inspection according to regulations, but he said those who enlisted him were not in the room with the surgeon. Patrick Brophy was rejected for varicose veins, and Michael Byrne for an enlarged joint on his big toe. The three enrollment officials and 20th Maine Infantry recruiter Captain Land, who probably was Captain Joseph F. Land, re-examined the two men at their own request and that of the other immigrants. Doughty and Morris indicated that they did so because the Irishmen wanted to join the same company. Eugene C. Murdock cites another case in which a Brooklyn surgeon rejected a man, but other enrollment board members recruited him. As Morris recalled, Brophy and Byrne mentioned being British Army veterans. Perhaps that status finally led the authorities to accept Byrne.


32 Statement of Morris in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.
The enlistment oath came next, and Todd and Doughty reiterated the men's sobriety at that time. Tully, who denied raising his right hand, said:

I did not state to the Surgeon or to the Provost Marshal that I was a Kidnapped British Subject, and that I did not wish to enlist. My reasons for believing the Provost Marshal knew I was a Kidnapped British Subject was because he was in the same building with the police, and I supposed they were all combined. . . . I . . . did not state to any particular person that I was a Kidnapped British Subject. I made a general statement to that effect in the Provost Marshal's Office. There was about [half] a dozen persons in the room when I stated that I was a Kidnapped British Subject. I was taken up to the counter and sworn in. (original usage)

Officer Cole recalled that the immigrants never said they wanted to see the British Consul. Despite the appearance of coercion, Collins surprisingly added, "I think that these three men [Tully, Byrne, and Higgins] spoke of the British Consul to prosecute the City Authorites (sic) for having them put in Jail (sic)."
The recruiter earlier told Tully that Consul Murray "was a real American and would take no notice" of Tully's complaint. As for Burke, Cassidy, and Moran, Todd said, "They mentioned (sic) the British Consul's name to me or in my presence." The context suggests that a copyist neglected to write, "They never mentioned the British Consul's name . . . ." (italics added) Morris and Doughty denied that anyone asked to see the Consul or protested taking the oath.

Whether or not the recruits objected, Ella Lonn maintains that " . . . an oath under durance (sic) was void."33

Army regulations governed not only the oath but other aspects of enlistment as well. Neither the immigrants nor the enlisting officials indicated that anyone read aloud the forms recruits had to sign or explained their service obligation, as Paragraphs 926 and 932 required. Higgins, in fact, stated

33 Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy, p. 468; statements of Tully, Cole, Collins, Todd, Morris, and Doughty in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.
explicitly that Collins did not read the men’s papers to them. Apparently no one followed Paragraph 934 and read aloud the 20th and 87th Articles of War, either; those provisions allowed punishments up to the death penalty for desertion. Nor is it clear the Irishmen were given the allotted time to consider enlistment before taking the oath. Such discrepancies probably would not have helped them in a potential legal action, though. Edwin M. Stanton, the future Secretary of War, argued successfully in an 1861 recruiting case that a volunteer soldier who was mustered into the U.S. military could not challenge his enlistment for lack of certain formalities. One example was the failure to explain the recruit’s service. Otherwise, Stanton said, emphasizing “nonessentials” like that could cancel enlistments when Union forces most needed manpower. There is some doubt, however, as to how freely the Portland men in 1864 volunteered.

After Finney’s men were sworn in, authorities took the common precaution of keeping them under guard to prevent desertion. The recruits received uniforms and their $200 (£40) bounty, which one city official thought Tully, Byrne, and Higgins eagerly collected. Collins reportedly told them about


getting money orders from a Terrence McGowan. Soldiers took Tully, Moran, Higgins, and Byrne into town to buy such things as clothing, rings and $24 silver watches, and Tully got a drink. Their predecessors purchased similar trinkets there when the 20th Maine first left for the front in 1862. By contrast, practical Edward Cummins, a Finney immigrant who enlisted in Boston, wrote to his parents in 1864:

... all the fellows are buying watches out of their bounty, and fancy Shirts; but I bought nothing; I don't understand it, I might get Shot and Some guerilla might have the pleasure of turning me over: and if I dont why, I Shall have the pleasure of turning over Some of them. (original usage)

It appears that vendors charged the Irishmen far too much for the watches, since Harper's Weekly in New York advertised a $7 "Army Watch" five weeks after that. Thirty years later, the Montgomery Ward mail-order house in Chicago still charged only $8.50 or $15.75 for men's complete silver pocket watches.

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Moran, Higgins, and Tully at last reached Portland's Camp Berry by carriage around 5 p.m. on March 10, 1864.41

While his fellow passengers were being enlisted, Martin Hogan sought employment. He managed to elude a self-proclaimed British Army veteran who met him on arrival and called the newcomers' promised jobs a "hoax." An Irishman in Portland, and possibly a second one, asked shop owner Charley O'Neil to hire Hogan, but O'Neil refused because those who brought Hogan to America would take him away. Next they persuaded a plasterer to employ the immigrant for $2.50-$3.00 (9/- to 12/-) per day. That tradesman recommended "Collin's (sic) Boarding House" in Fore Street, which recruiter Collins may or may not have owned. Hogan was called away from dinner there the next day, March 10, to meet friends at the railway station, where a man declining to identify himself gave him a glass of "fiery"-tasting liquor. En route with him to meet those people at the Post Office instead, Hogan was "seized with a cold shivering," as the new arrival later recalled. He became intoxicated, and Dr. Thomas thus was unable to examine him on March 10.42

On the morning of March 11, Hogan awakened sober in his civilian clothes at Camp Berry. The uniformed Sergeant Stewart brought him into town that day. There Hogan declined $100 in bounty but accepted whiskey, which his description suggests was drugged:

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41 Statements of Tully, Moran, and Higgins in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.

After drinking the whiskey I became very weak. A cold perspiration came out on me. I asked them to allow me to sit down. I looked for my handkerchief, could not find mine, a man by the name of Stuart (sic) threw me his. I was wiping my face and did not remember any thing more until 2 1/2 o'clock p.m. when I found myself in the Guard room in the City Hall Building. I found myself in Military clothing. (original usage)

Perhaps the handkerchief contained chloroform. In any case, Hogan later could not identify his recruiter. He found he had $105 and a watch and chain; according to “Stuart,” he had spent another $95 for his clothing, boots, watch, and two pipes Hogan never recalled. Those sums equalled the bounty paid to Finney’s other recruits at City Hall, as described above. Hogan was examined by Dr. Thomas, mustered by Captain Doughty, and put into the 20th Maine Regiment on the 11th with his fellow immigrants.43

Tully wrote to Consul Murray on March 11 at the others’ request, saying they emigrated to work but were now soldiers bound for their unit. “A friend” delivered the letter; interception by U.S. officials was a distinct risk. Moran stated that they again wrote to Murray on March 12 when Murray did not visit

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43 Statements of Hogan, Thomas, and Doughty in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US; Roll of 1st District (Maine) Volunteer Enlistments, Portland, Mar. 11, 1864; in Hogan’s service record, NA/US.
that day, but the second letter has not been found. Visiting them in camp on Sunday, March 13, Murray criticized their recruitment, asked about any money they left in Portland, and recommended taking no more money. Apparently he shared Secretary Stanton’s belief that accepting funds reinforced the service obligation. Murray promised to seek an investigation and their release, and to notify Lord Lyons at Washington if necessary.

Although the Consul soon persuaded Maine’s Acting Assistant Adjutant General, Major John W.T. Gardiner, to detain the Irishmen in order to examine their case, officials in Portland sent them to Virginia one day after Murray's


Tully's March 11, 1864 letter to Consul Murray, cited above, was written as one paragraph and reads as follows:

"Camp Berry, Portland, March 11, 1864

"Sir,

"We, the Undersigned, beg leave most respectfully to bring to your notice the fact that we were brought out from Ireland by a person of the name of Finney, for the purpose of working in Boston. We arrived in Portland on the 9th instant, but having lost the train which was to convey us with the remainder of party we came with, we were put into prison and could not gain our liberation or food unless we submitted to enrol ourselves in the American service, which we ultimately did through mere compulsion or privation. We are now in the camp, and about being forwarded to the interior, and therefore as British subjects we claim that protection which is granted to the people of that country throughout the globe. Will you therefore, Sir, as Consul of our country, inquire into the matter at once, and gain for us our liberty, as it is a most crying shame to see British subjects treated in the manner we have been. Should you not interfere in the matter will you kindly say so, that we may represent the matter to the Secretary of State in London, as most decidedly no country can stand by such conduct. The police first confines us; keeps us in prison and refuses to give us our liberty or food until we enlist. Although we had our passage certificates in our possession we were not even six hours in America before we were entrapped. "Hoping for your kind consideration, we are, &c.

"(Signed) Thomas Tully/ Michl. Byrne/ James Higgins/ Edwd. Cassidy/ Thomas Burke/ Michael Moran/ Martin Hogan."

The recruits first were offered two separate bounties of $100 (£20) and $73 (£14-12s.). The former might have been a state bonus, or possibly a local amount. Apparently the latter combined the initial $60 (£12) of the $300 (£60) Federal enlistment bounty with the one month’s advance pay of $13 (£2-12s.) new soldiers received. According to their service records, each of Finney’s Portland recruits got the first $60 and $13. Tully was handcuffed and forced to join the troops going to the front when he declined to accept the funds before Murray’s inquiry. What happened to his $73 is unclear, since he said he never received the $173. Moran and Cassidy hesitated as well. At least one officer struck them with a sword, cutting Cassidy’s face; Moran then took the lesser of the two bounties. Higgins accepted the full $173, and Tully indicated that Cassidy, Byrne, and Burke also collected the money. On March 19, 1864, those six recruits joined the 20th Maine at Rappahannock Station, Virginia. Tully was ill upon arrival and was sent to Finley Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Hogan, who did not recall signing any enlistment forms, remained at Camp Berry when the other men left. There he refused his uniform, bounty, and rations on the Consul’s advice, but he did purchase food. To avoid being beaten as his fellow immigrants were, Hogan eventually signed the payroll for $73. The paymaster would not disburse the other $100 because the Irishman


could not identify who recruited him. Hogan set out for his unit on April 19, reaching its camp one week later.49

Cold rain and snow gave way to warmer weather, allowing the regiment to conduct drill and target practice before the spring campaign, and the Portland men enlivened the scene.50 Private William Lamson of Company B, 20th Maine, wrote on March 21, 1864, "Our regt. has several recruits imported direct from 'Ould Ireland.' Some of them got into a fight and spent their first night in the guardhouse!" Major Ellis Spear, then leading the regiment, commented at greater length:

On one occasion, during the winter, I received, amongst other recruits, six Irishmen, material for good soldiers, but also involving an element of disorder. They had not been in camp twenty-four hours before there was a row and the 'Officer of the Day' found them all drunk, more or less, and the valuable quality of fighting was prematurely developed. . . . the worst culprit . . . could not be kept quiet, even in the guard house. . . . The man needed to be cooled off. . . . Fortunately, the weather was cold, and I ordered, as a remedy & punishment, that the fellow should be tied on the outside to the projecting logs of the corner of the house. He soon cooled off, and I was advised of the fact by the appearance of one of his fine friends, who . . . was one of the 'Wild Irishmen', (Someone had given them the name) . . . He professed that his friend was penitent, and promised to behave if released. I accepted his statement and put my interviewer also under pledge of his honor, called the Officer of the Day, and ordered release of the prisoner. I believe there was no other guard house offense during the winter. The other men had too much character and self respect, to get into the guard house. Where the Wild Irishmen procured their drink I never ascertained. Probably they brought it with them, concealed in their knapsacks.51

For several reasons, Spear's account of the fight in camp appears to refer to Finney's Irishmen from Portland. Spear stated that the six arrived

49 Service record of Hogan, NA/US; statement of Hogan in Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US.
51 Engert, Maine to the Wilderness, p. 90 ("Ould Ireland"); Spear, The Civil War Recollections of General Ellis Spear, pp. 80-82 ("six Irishmen"); Styple, With a Flash of His Sword, pp. 164-166.
together, and later wrote that at least one of them was captured in Virginia in December 1864. Unit and individual records indicate that the first six immigrants reached camp on March 19, 1864. Private Lamson’s statement about the fight was close to that date, and suggested that the men had just come from Ireland, which was true. According to Higgins’ and Moran’s files, those two were captured in Virginia on December 10, 1864.52

The guardhouse Major Spear mentioned was one of the log cabins the 20th Maine built for winter quarters at Rappahannock Station over trenches captured from the Confederates in November 1863. The unit protected the nearby Orange & Alexandria Railroad bridge across the Rappahannock River for the next five months.53 Dirty as the site had become over the winter, the troops so much regretted leaving their safe and comfortable camp to recruits on May 1, 1864 that they burned parts of it despite Major Spear’s efforts. The 57th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, a new unit, replaced the 20th Maine there that day. Captain John Anderson of the 57th praised the camp’s scenic location and well-constructed cabins, which had bunks and brick or stone fireplaces, but the enlisted men who had to clean up the place were much less poetic.54

While Tully and the other six men were still in Portland, Finney and most of his immigrants went on to Boston on the afternoon of March 9. They traveled


54 Engert, Maine to the Wilderness, pp. 81-82, 92; Spear, The Civil War Recollections of General Ellis Spear, pp. 76-79, 92-93, 335-337; Styple, With a Flash of His Sword, pp. 262-263; Warren Wilkinson, Mother, May You Never See the Sights I Have Seen: The Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Veteran Volunteers in the Army of the Potomac, 1864-1865 (New York: Quill (William Morrow), 1990), pp. 56-57.
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via the Boston & Maine Railroad, and reached Bunker Hill Street in the Boston
suburb of Charlestown at about 9 p.m. that evening. The men stayed there in a
building belonging to Jerome G. Kidder, who asked Finney to recruit them in
Ireland. Finney reportedly sent three telegrams from Portland about their arrival,
but Kidder said his structure was the only accommodation available then for
lack of notice. Various sources called it an old business building, an "improved
... 'Mission House,'" or "a vacant store." Concerning the Irishmen's lack of
bedding, Kidder observed that that was their "only hardship, if it is a hardship."
As further proof that he did not know the men were coming, Kidder stated that
Finney was instructed to send no more laborers after February 23. The last
group of Finney's laborers, however, actually left Dublin on that date.

The newcomers, who thus had some form of housing, had not yet eaten
since coming ashore that morning. Kidder insisted that they were well-fed in
Charlestown:

An ample supply of such refreshments as could be got at that late hour
was furnished -- there being no time to have meat cooked. On the
following morning a breakfast of eggs, bread, tea and what cooked
provisions -- hams, roast and boiled beef -- the Parker House could
supply, which was ample in quantity and the quality what (sic) had been
provided for the guests of the Parker House.

55 Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864; Irish-American (New York), Mar. [19], 1864; unidentified
Boston newspaper article in Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 15, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).
56 Unidentified Boston newspaper article, Mar. 1864, in Lyons to Russell, Apr. 8, 1864,
unidentified Boston newspaper article in Lousada to Russell, Mar. 15, 1864, and Kidder's card in
Courier (Boston), Mar. 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Pilot (Boston), [Mar. 19,] 1864,
cited in The Munster Express (Waterford), Apr. 2, 1864.
57 Kidder's card in Courier (Boston), Mar. 1864, unidentified Boston newspaper article in
Ryan to the Commissioners of Police, Feb. 24, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)). Cf. a
second-hand account in another unidentified Boston newspaper article inLousada to Lyons,
Mar. 15, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)), in which a friend of Kidder's gave the
designated date of departure as February 22, 1864.
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From the point of view of the men themselves, they got cheese, bread or crackers, and whiskey or ale overnight, with more whiskey the following morning. They may also have received tea. Martin Lynch, owner of Boston's Stackpole House, claimed Finney supplied four gallons of whiskey, and more the next day. Kidder, though, denied knowing the source of the liquor.58

Employment, as well as food and accommodation, remained in question. The first issue resulted in part from the location in Massachusetts. Governor John A. Andrew, along with Senator Henry Wilson, wanted to protect the state's industrial labor population by obtaining soldiers elsewhere. In fact, Wilson spoke of having brought over several hundred Germans to fill military units. Andrew, who reportedly said he lacked money to invest in Finney's plan, also sought to delay an 1864 draft until the Mayor of Springfield, Massachusetts, could obtain foreign recruits. Richard H. Abbott believes that the Governor's and Senator's efforts, though successful, "had given Massachusetts a tarnished reputation for patriotism."59

The Finney case involved one particular state unit. On February 5, 1864, Andrew wrote, "... great success may be expected to attend active efforts to fill up the 28th Regiment," which formed part of the Irish Brigade. Colonel Richard Byrnes of the 28th soon afterward personally supervised his unit's enlistment of 326 troops in and near Boston that spring; Byrnes would die of wounds in

58 Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 11, 1864, unidentified Boston newspaper article in same to Russell, Mar. 15, 1864, Kidder's card in Courier (Boston), Mar. 1864, and an unidentified Boston newspaper article in Lyons to Russell, Apr. 8, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Irish-American (New York), Mar. [19], 1864; Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864.
June 1864.60 Claiming that the Charlestown Waterworks jobs were not available, Kidder instead urged his immigrants to join the 28th Massachusetts, whose recruiter Kidder contacted before the Irishmen arrived.61 Another Irish Brigade soldier’s account, however, suggests that Byrnes may not have been inclined to participate himself in the possible coercion of the newcomers. While on picket guard near Fredericksburg, Virginia, in November 1862, Private William McCarter of the 116th Pennsylvania suffered severely from exposure. The enlisted man recalled the “hospitable, kind, and gentlemanly” Colonel’s help: “He ordered me plenty to eat, lots of strong, hot coffee and piles of covering, as well as a little smuggled brandy of his own.”62

Besides the 28th Massachusetts, others competed for the new arrivals. Kidder particularly recommended entering the 28th, as opposed to going with other enlistment agents that evening. Recruiters, reinforced by a police guard outside the building and the drink inside, signed up some men on their first night there.63 The immigrants faced enlistment even beyond the structure. Boston harbor police arrested Simon Gavin and at least one other Irishman for

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61 Unidentified Boston newspaper article in Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 15, 1864, and Courier (Boston), Mar. 21, 1864, in Lousada to Russell, Mar. 21, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864; Irish-American (New York), Mar. [19], 1864; Bilby, Remember Fontenoy!, pp. 97-98.


63 Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 11, 1864, and unidentified Boston newspaper article in same to same, Mar. 15, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19 and Apr. 2, 1864.
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drunkenness and assault, then threatened them with going to jail for six months
or joining the military. Gavin himself appeared to avoid both fates; he attended a
public meeting about the Finney case on March 25.64

Kidder used the Charlestown Waterworks, rather than imprisonment, as
leverage in his recruiting plan. That company was named in Finney’s labor
agreements in Ireland, but Kidder suggested that the men join the 28th
Massachusetts because the waterworks “were done up.”65 Perhaps he implied
that the works were completed, abandoned, or bankrupt. To the contrary,
progress on the project must have interested local people as much as its
completion that fall did. Emerson D. Fite states, “A typical celebration of the
introduction of water was that in Charlestown, Massachusetts; see the Boston
Daily Advertiser, Nov. 30, 1864. Business was generally suspended and a
vacation was granted in the public schools; there was (sic) a street parade and
public exercises.”66

It seems Kidder meant to inveigle the Irishmen into enlisting with his
initial claim about the waterworks. He next thought he could find other work for
thirty to forty individuals at $1.25 (5/-) per day, then on Friday, March 11,
paradoxically offered waterworks jobs to all interested immigrants.67 Project
contractor James McDonald hired approximately twenty of the men. Although
Finney purportedly received a December 1863 letter in which McDonald’s firm

64 Pilot (Boston), Apr. 2, 1864; unidentified Boston newspaper article in Lousada to
Lyons, Mar. 26, 1864, in Lyons to Russell, Apr. 8, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).
65 Irish-American (New York), Mar. [19], 1864; Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864; Courier
(Boston), Mar. 21, 1864, in Lousada to Russell, Mar. 21, 1864, unidentified Boston newspaper
article in Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 15, 1864, and copies of Finney’s labor agreement in Finney to
Sabel & Searle, Jan. 1864, and in the Crown case against Finney, Jan. 27, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O.,
R.P., 16765 (1864)).
66 Emerson D. Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War
67 Unidentified Boston newspaper article in Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 15, 1864 (NA/I,
C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864; Irish-American (New York), Mar. [19],
1864.
asked him to locate workers, the contractor three months later asserted his ignorance of Kidder’s plan to import laborers.68

Many of Finney’s Irishmen chose not to enlist, even in lieu of their anticipated jobs with the Charlestown Waterworks or other companies. When D.M. Ross and his associates brought foreigners to Boston as draft substitutes in 1864, the first group also were Irish who refused to enlist. These were not Finney’s men, however. Ross’s immigrants arrived from Ireland in April 1864, rather than March, and Ross himself is not mentioned in any material on the Finney case.69 Kidder turned the men out of his building on March 10 after they tended to balk at military service; this occurred before he suddenly rediscovered the additional waterworks positions. Recruiters signed up some individuals in the meantime.70 Captain John Warren, the Fenian Center for Massachusetts and a veteran of the Irish Brigade’s 63rd New York, immediately organized accommodation for the others with his fellow Irish residents of Charlestown.71

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70 Unidentified Boston newspaper article in Lousada to Russell, Mar. 15, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864; Irish-American (New York), Mar. [19], 1864; Edward Cummins to his parents from Boston, Mar. 23, 1864, in West to Seward, No. 57, Apr. 20, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.

The community’s earlier immigrants provided more than room and board. On March 12, 1864, John Connor wrote to his brother, “The Irish People here made up a subscription for us and treated us very kindly and formed Societies for us and got work for us . . . .” Charles H. Donnelly was chairman of the ad hoc citizens’ committee which investigated the case and collected and disbursed those funds for Finney’s men. The group’s first meeting, at Lynch’s Stackpole House on March 11, raised $50. Kidder, however, thought they should have urged the Irishmen to find work and helped him to recoup his expenses. According to Boston Consul Frederick Lousada, Finney likewise mentioned his plan of “going on to Washington to see the Secretary of War to claim from him the men already enlisted to his [Finney’s] detriment.” Whether Kidder’s agent hoped to recover the immigrant recruits themselves, their passage money, or a share of their bounties was not clear. The reasonably objective committee, which met again at the Democratic Club Hall two weeks later, interviewed Finney and Kidder as well as the Irishmen.

Why the men were brought over particularly concerned the investigators. Prime Minister Palmerston and The Times recognized the Irishmen’s desire for employment, and Kidder thought the laborers he and Finney imported could benefit as much as American business did. The U.S. already had numerous immigrant workers, though. Both Boston City Councilman Eneas Smythe and

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72 John Connor to his brother from Boston, Mar. 12, 1864, in D.M.P. “G” Div. Supt. Ryan to the Commissioners of Police, Apr. 2, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).
73 Kidder’s card in Courier (Boston), Mar. 16, 1864, Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 11, 1864, unidentified Boston newspaper article in same to Russell, Mar. 15, 1864, and John Connor to his brother from Boston, Mar. 12, 1864, in D.M.P. “G” Div. Supt. Ryan to the Commissioners of Police, Apr. 2, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864.
74 Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 23, 1864, in Lyons to Russell, Apr. 8, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).
75 Courier (Boston), n.d., in Lousada to Russell, Mar. 21, 1864, and unidentified Boston newspaper article in Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 26, 1864, in Lyons to Russell, Apr. 8, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Pilot (Boston), Apr. 2, 1864.
the Irish-American newspaper in New York therefore questioned bringing over more in wintertime just before the March 10, 1864 draft. 76 John Connor doubtless spoke for many when he ruefully wrote, "We were brought out here for to be made soldiers of." The lack of reception at Kidder's building, plus Finney's and Kidder's reported status as bounty brokers, supported that conclusion. 77 Finney, by one account, made considerable money as a substitute broker in New Hampshire in 1863. He supposedly received part of it when he enlisted a drunk man and "deposited" his bounty, but the provost marshal required the agent to repay the sum. It was a lucrative location for the trade. According to James W. Geary, New Hampshire's numerous substitution funds meant that 75% of that state's drafted men sent substitutes, "the highest proportion of any state." 78

Finney, like Kidder, now stood to make still more money in Massachusetts, which reinforced suspicions of recruiting. Their prospective gain ranged from the $30,000 (£6,000) Finney mentioned in Dublin up to the Irish-American's figure of $62,500 (£12,500). 79 If one subtracts the Pilot's estimate of Kidder's cost per immigrant ($70 (£14)) from the enlistment bonus newcomer Thomas McManus received ($700 (£140)), the resulting $630 (£126) is very


78 Geary, We Need Men, p. 113 ("highest proportion"); unidentified Boston newspaper in Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 15, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19 and Apr. 2, 1864.

close to the Irish-American’s idea of $625 in profits per man. The latter journal apparently assumed that Kidder and his assistant would keep the entire sum.\textsuperscript{80} Local, state, and national bounties of $700 to $825 (£140 to £165), and hand money of $15 to $25 (£3 to £5) for bringing in a recruit, promised the organizers a surplus if all the Irishmen had enlisted.\textsuperscript{81} Edward Ryan, the secretary of the ad hoc committee, summed up the group’s criticism of the two main parties, the Portland and Boston police, and others involved in the case: “As to Messrs. Kidder and Finney, whatever their intentions were, they had worked their cards too shrewdly to authorize us to say, definitely, they had been engaged in a scheme of enlistment. At any rate it was perfectly plain that Irishmen here had been foremost in endeavouring to get recruiting bounties for them.”\textsuperscript{82}

As Waterford’s Munster Express put it, the Finney story inevitably created “some sensation,” on both sides of the Atlantic. The Irish-American fulminated in March 1864 that if Finney returned to Ireland, friends of his immigrants should “make him acquainted with a halter and the horse pond.” John Connor’s own comment to his brother was most fervent: “If anything of the sort such as emigration agents comes among ye again let none of the boys or fellows that ye are acquainted with come out on the same expectation that we came on, it would be the greatest suck in they ever got and it would be the same with us

\textsuperscript{80} Pilot (Boston), Mar. 19, 1864, and cited in The Munster Express (Waterford), Apr. 2, 1864; Irish-American (New York), Mar. [19], 1864; Thomas McManus to Francis McManus, Mar. 17, 1864, in West to Seward, No. 57, Apr. 20, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), NA/US.

\textsuperscript{81} Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 15, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).

\textsuperscript{82} Unidentified Boston newspaper article in Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 26, 1864, in Lyons to Russell, Apr. 8, 1864, and unidentified Boston newspaper article in Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 15, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Pilot (Boston), Apr. 2, 1864.
only for the Irish People here." It seemed to the Irish-American that the case would make Kidder and Finney pariahs in Ireland.83

The Connor document offers a valuable personal account of the recruiting incident. Here is the entire statement, printed as it appeared in police files in Dublin:

"Boston,
"March 12/64

"Dear Thomas.

"We arrived here in Boston. Thursday after a passage of 14 days we were brought out here for to be made soldiers of, but the Irish People here made up a subscription for us and treated us very kindly and formed Societies for us and got work for us. all of the boys of us that came out from Dublin are all together except Wolfe, he went to New York with a passenger that he was acquainted with. if anything of the sort such as emigration agents comes among ye again let none of the boys or fellows that ye are acquainted with come out on the same expectation that we came on, it would be the greatest suck in they ever got and it would be the same with us only for the Irish People here, tell Larry Hallaron that Fullam, and Carey, Will Moore, Jackey Connor, Glennon, Ryan, Keenan, and Simon Gavin, Frost, Kearney, and Hayden, Butler, Cahill, Fred Taylor is with his uncle Paddy Murry's brother thought for to list himself and all of us and get a big bounty for us but we weren't such fools as to go with him. Johnny Nolan is joined the Navy. all sorts of temptation is here for us to join the Army, we can get 400 dollars each bounty here if we have a mind to take it, but thank God we can do better than that. we are all well thank God and we hope ye are all well at home. Remember me Will Moore to John Smith and Matty Goggins tell John Smith that William Moore met John Grimes in Portland himself and Stephen Aylmere's sister is all well and they hope they will see Stephen out there shortley remember us to all enquiring friends and we will all write home to our own people when we are settled down here and at steady work read this for all the boys that we were acquainted with when you read this for the boys give it to Larrey Halleron to read for Carey and Fullam's friends at the Broadstone

"So I remain my
Dear friends Yours
John Connor"

The slightly abbreviated form of this letter in The Irish Times on April 7, 1864 read, "... it would be the greatest take in they ever got ..." [italics added here]84 O censorship!


The Kidder case affected both public comment and the emigration situation in Ireland. Father Bannon believed his circulars there ultimately prevented enlistment by Finney's men, whose story would then warn others planning to leave. Lieutenant Capston also publicized the matter among the Irish people. Kidder and Consul Murray both thought the Portland and Boston developments might discourage labor recruiting, and Ireland's press indeed cited it in warning prospective emigrants about hard times and coerced enlistment in America. Despite those views, Consul West in Dublin thought 100,000 Irish still wished to go at once in search of prosperity.

The events in Boston and Portland marked the peak of Anglo-American discussion of Irish emigration and enlistment. Secretary Seward, who thought the United States could not act without official knowledge of recruiting in Europe, promised Lord Lyons that the U.S. would investigate the Maine case. The Secretary of State subsequently told Minister Adams, though, that a small number of drunken foreigners tried to renege after being enlisted. It is not known whether Seward's statement referred specifically to the intoxicated Portland recruits. Contrary to the Secretary's claims, Murdock writes,

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85 Fr. John Bannon to Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin, No. 7, Apr. 9, 1864, same to same, No. 8, May 28, 1864, and placard in Lt. James L. Capston to same, [No. 8], Aug. 24 1864, in Confederate State Department Records, Roll 6, Library of Congress (L/C).


87 West to Seward, No. 54, Apr. 2, 1864, and No. 57, Apr. 20, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.
"[A]bstinence from whisky did not always work. A cavalry officer home on recruiting duty in Elmira was drugged by a broker and enlisted as a private."88

The Finney controversy, coming soon after the Kearsarge incident, raised concern in America. On June 24, 1864, Senator Reverdy Johnson of Maryland introduced a resolution inquiring about any authorized U.S. recruitment in Ireland or Canada. Seward, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, and Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles each denied the practice. Stanton added that the War Department did nothing to halt it "because no information of any such conduct has reached the Department, and I do not believe that it has been practiced in any instance."89

In spring 1864, the Marquis of Clanricarde, the Earl of Donoughmore, and others likewise questioned Union enlistment of Her Majesty’s subjects in general and of Irishmen in particular. The Irish were "honest" but "credulous," the Foreign Secretary said, yet British Government leaders were not responsible for that.90 Earl Russell considered U.S. responses to the Finney case unsatisfactory. He seemed to think little could be done for men already in

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service, but would continue to raise the issue to forestall similar problems in the future.\footnote{91}{Hansard 3, clxxv, 1449-53. See also the statements of the Attorney-General, Sir Hugh Cairnes, in Parliament on May 12, 1864, quoted in Raphael Semmes, \textit{Memoirs of Service Afloat during the War between the States} (Baltimore, Md.: Kelly, Piet & Co., 1869; reprint: Secaucus, N.J.: Blue & Grey Press, 1987), pp. 398-399.}

The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland went a step further on June 25, 1864, issuing an official proclamation against enlistment in the U.S. By coincidence, this came just one day after Senator Johnson introduced his resolution. The Lord Lieutenant warned Irishmen of the "risk and danger" in emigrating to work in wartime America, where they could be compelled to join the Union forces. His document also emphasized unspecified penalties under the Foreign Enlistment Act for military service there, and reiterated the Queen's declaration of neutrality. To critics of emigration, the proclamation would have been welcome. Justice Fitzgerald in Cork observed then that the Irish faced coerced recruitment in an irrelevant cause in which emigrants had been "ruthlessly sacrificed." Consul West, however, expressed his disdain to Secretary Seward: "The Lord Lieutenant's Proclamation agst. Federal enlistments is so lame and impotent that it must rather provoke ridicule than any thing else." (original usage)\footnote{92}{Proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Jun. 25, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16996 (1864)); Justice Fitzgerald quoted in placard in Capston to Benjamin, [No. 8], Aug. 24, 1864, in \textit{Confederate State Department Records}, Roll 6, UC; West to Seward, No. 71, Jul. 2, 1864, in \textit{Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin} (T199), Roll 4, NA/US.}

The proclamation, strong or weak, came too late for Finney's men in Portland. From March 25 until about April 7, 1864, Provost Marshal Captain Doughty and War Department investigators in that city questioned the police and the recruiters involved. Those individuals testified that the emigrants not only enlisted voluntarily, but also got something to eat and drink.\footnote{93}{Murray to Lyons, Mar. 28, 1864, in Lyons to Russell, Apr. 8, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Murray to Russell, No. 21, Apr. 7, 1864 (PRO/GB, F.O. 5/972); \textit{Evening Mail} (Dublin), Jul. 20, 1864 (NLI, MS. 7608, Larcom Papers); Berwanger, \textit{The British Foreign Service and the American Civil War}, p. 157.} The Irishmen
soon saw hard fighting in Northern Virginia's heavily overgrown Wilderness. According to Lieutenant Holman S. Melcher of the 20th Maine, someone called it "the region of gloom and the shadow of death." Michael Byrne and Edward Cassidy were wounded in combat there on May 5. At nearby Laurel Hill on May 8, the regiment had another severe battle. Government records indicate that Thomas Burke died of a gunshot wound he suffered on one of those two dates. Byrne entered Cony Hospital in Augusta, Maine on June 16, and Cassidy deserted from Columbian Hospital in Washington, D.C., as of June 14.94

Under pressure from Lord Lyons, the War Department on June 2 ordered the immigrants back to Maine for an investigation by that state's "Chief Musterling Officer," apparently meaning Major Gardiner.95 The Provost Marshal of the Army of the Potomac kept Moran, Higgins, and Hogan under guard with prisoners from June 9 to June 23, when those three were sent to the Old Capitol Prison in Washington. From there, they traveled to Boston in shackles, and were tied together with ropes for their journey to Portland. The Irishmen reached Camp Berry on June 29, where they met Tully. At the August 1864 hearings, they gave the above account of their enlistments, which the police and recruiters again insisted were legal. Edward S. Morris was Commissioner of Maine's 1st Enrollment District when Finney's men arrived, and testified during that inquiry on August 19, even though his appointment as Commissioner had

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been cancelled nine days earlier. The *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* do not indicate why he left that post, however. British authorities, who believed that the U.S. often accepted the word of its own officials regarding forced enlistment of Her Majesty’s subjects, still had doubts about the case. The War Department nevertheless chose to retain the four Irish soldiers, and returned them to the 20th Maine that fall.

Higgins and Moran, having rejoined their unit, were captured in Virginia on December 10, 1864, during the Northern forces’ raid to break up the Weldon Railroad. At an 1881 reunion, regimental historian Samuel L. Miller said, “This expedition you will all remember as the time when the Fifth Corps got gloriously drunk on ‘apple jack.’” John J. Pullen writes that men of the 3rd Brigade, including the 20th Maine, found twenty-five barrels of the drink on a plantation, and thus had the greatest number of stragglers in their division.

Spear, now the regiment’s Colonel, followed the Union troops as they resumed their march with the Confederates in pursuit on the icy morning of December 10. He had to leave behind six of his men who were too inebriated to continue, and put one of them in charge of seeing that the group caught up to the 20th Maine. Colonel Spear indicated that that individual first arrived with Finney’s immigrants from Portland: “[He] was an Irishman, a Corporal, promoted

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to that rank during the campaign. He was one of the two survivors of a squad of six, received as recruits, the winter before."\textsuperscript{100}

On reaching his regiment, Spear found another intoxicated soldier with applejack in his canteen. That man mentioned the "Wild Irishmen" and said

\ldots these two survivors of [the squad of six] (sic) in whom one spirit rested; had gone out in the night, two miles, and found a house in the cellar of which were eight barrels of applejack. 'And' -- [the soldier] said in painful contrast -- 'They had only their two canteens'. -- But here, his voice rose -- 'They found a washtub'. And they brought in a washtub full, and distributed it to their friends. It was fortunate that more men were not drunk in the morning. (original usage)

The Colonel believed that because of the windfall of drink on the cold night spent outdoors, "the incident was one of those unavoidable accidents of war." During the raid, the Confederates captured the "Irish corporal," who would later be released in an exchange for Southern prisoners.\textsuperscript{101}

The corporal's identity poses an interesting question. Colonel Spear's account of the Irishmen's arrival in camp suggested that they were Finney's immigrants, as described above.\textsuperscript{102} Moran and Higgins were the only two members of that group to be captured in the Weldon Railroad raid, but neither man's service record indicates any promotion to Corporal.\textsuperscript{103} It seems likely, then, that Spear referred to one of them, but gave the incorrect rank. Whoever the "Irish corporal" was, he and the other Portland recruits found that the lead

\textsuperscript{100} Spear, \textit{The Civil War Recollections of General Ellis Spear}, pp. 160-162, 288.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., pp. 160-162.
\textsuperscript{103} Service records of Moran, Higgins, Burke, Byrne, Cassidy, Tully, and Hogan, NA/US.
bullets of the Confederates were a more immediate concern than the iron penalties of the Foreign Enlistment Act.
As Minister Charles Francis Adams suspected, and as Patrick Finney's men and others knew from experience, various American representatives apparently recruited Irishmen for the Civil War. Sometimes those agents trenched on British enlistment laws in the process.\(^1\) Frank L. Owsley believes that the U.S. deliberately signed up foreigners, and Robert Ernst notes related activities. Although Emerson D. Fite cannot say how extensive those efforts were, he considers them "unquestionable."\(^2\) Robert L. Peterson, John A. Hudson, and Eugene C. Murdock suggest the contrary view that Federal

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authorities did not themselves recruit abroad, but instead acquiesced when they knew many emigrants might well enlist on arrival.³

The role of Cabinet officials and others in the U.S. Government is more difficult to determine. Secretary of State William H. Seward, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, and Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles each denied enlistments overseas, but Federal authorities sometimes moved slowly to discharge coerced foreign recruits. In addition, agent Finney said he would consult the Secretary of War about some Irishmen Finney brought over who did enlist.⁴ The prospect of recruitment arose for individual diplomats when Consul Henry B. Hammond in Dublin encouraged emigration. Consul William B. West in Galway, who recommended paying passages to meet American labor needs, even arranged free travel from Galway for a boy planning to enter the U.S. Navy.⁵ Finney during his operations may also have dealt with consular candidate James Cantwell in Dublin in early 1864. West was there at that time as well; he sent Jerome G. Kidder’s papers to Adams, but subsequently was


⁵ Consul Henry B. Hammond to Seward, No. 20, Jul. 31, 1862, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 3, NA/US; same to same, No. 41, Apr. 23, 1863, in same collection, Roll 4; Consul William B. West to Seward, No. 17, Oct. 4, 1862, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Galway (T570), NA/US. See also Consul Henry W. Lord to Seward from Manchester, Jul. 26, 1862, in OR, Ser. III, Vol. II, pp. 358-359.
instructed to avoid any connection with the project. Beyond the diplomats and other civilian Federal authorities, U.S. military officers sometimes knew agents forced immigrants into the service, and accepted those recruits if bribed to do so.

State as well as national officials participated in enlisting foreigners. In Massachusetts, Governor John A. Andrew and Senator Henry Wilson on various occasions openly discussed bringing over emigrants to fill units and draft quotas. Wilson, as Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, dealt with such issues as the raise in Army privates' monthly pay from $13 (£2-12) to $16 (£3-4). In Dublin in January 1864, Finney spoke of that increase five months early, perhaps because a state source provided the advance information in order to encourage his Irishmen to enlist. Finney reported describing the emigration plan to Andrew, who said he did not have money to invest in it. The Governor also anticipated filling the 28th Massachusetts in early 1864. Before Finney's men arrived, Kidder contacted that regiment's

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6 Seward to Adams, No. 752, Nov. 3, 1863, No. 880, Mar. 21, 1864, and No. 939, May 4, 1864, in Diplomatic Instructions (M77), Roll 78, NA/US; Adams to Seward, No. 656, Apr. 14, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Ministers to Great Britain (M30), Roll 82, NA/US; West to Seward, No. 51, Mar. 5, 1864, No. 53, Mar. 26, 1864, and No. 68, Jun. 18, 1864, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Dublin (T199), Roll 4, NA/US; Dublin Metropolitan Police "G" Division Superintendent Daniel Ryan to the Commissioners of Police, Jan. 26, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)); Ella Lonn, Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pp. 424-425.


9 Geary, We Need Men, pp. 12-16; unidentified Boston newspaper article in Lousada to Lyons, Mar. 26, 1864, in Lyons to Russell, Apr. 8, 1864 (NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864)).
VII -- WE WANT YOU

recruiter. It is a notable coincidence that Massachusetts faced a draft quota at that time as well.10

Like Massachusetts, New York appeared to recruit Irishmen, in this case through the New York State Commissioners of Emigration. It is ironic that that group participated in enlistment, since it was established to combat mistreatment of immigrants. Bernard Casserly, the Commission's General Agent, belonged to civilian supporting committees during the Irish Brigade's formation, and was an honorary vice-president at a summer 1862 Irish Brigade recruiting meeting. He also offered Castle Garden as a possible site for a reception honoring Brigadier General Michael Corcoran when Corcoran returned from a Confederate prison later that summer.11 Again in summer 1862, New York City's Corn Exchange offered $10 to each of the first 300 recruits joining the Irish Brigade. British Consul E.M. Archibald then heard in May 1863 that Commission employees at Castle Garden received an unspecified premium for furnishing 300 immigrants to fill a unit going to the front.12 Five months later, Confederate agent Father John B. Bannon in Ireland condemned enlistments at Castle Garden. The New York Times in July 1864, however, praised New York County's Volunteer and Substitute Committee for at last


advertising bounties there. Several recruiting tents nearby further enticed new arrivals, with some success.  

Like state officials, local authorities helped to fill draft quotas with foreign recruits, who often were obtained through brokers. Boston Alderman D.M. Ross himself organized the enlistment of German substitutes. Police assisted brokers; Portland and Boston officers confined the Finney and Ross immigrants, and Chicago police could earn extra money by helping agents obtain troops. Jail officials frequently allowed recruiters to bail out prisoners who would enlist, and Syracuse, New York detectives located substitutes for drafted individuals.

The New York Metropolitan Police also found men for the Metropolitan Guard regiments commanded by police veterans, drawing criticism from the New York Times and historian Ella Lonn for coercion. Those recruits likely included many foreigners. In fact, the first Superintendent of Castle Garden, John A. Kennedy, left that post in June 1860 to become Superintendent of the New York Metropolitan Police. Casserly succeeded him at Castle Garden.

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It does not seem that class moved business executives and the public officials at these various levels to conspire to enlist immigrants. Apart from the 1864 contract-labor law, little evidence indicates that the two groups as a whole cooperated to bring over men. Only one state, Massachusetts, appeared to make large-scale efforts to find foreign substitutes for industrial workers facing military service. The wealthy, however, still did not monopolize access to replacements for the draft; Congress eliminated widespread commutation in 1864, and cities and private insurance agencies funded substitution for virtually all men liable to conscription. Although anxiety to fill district quotas sometimes engendered competition for and coercion of recruits, the motive was not entirely socioeconomic.

Many individuals in the United States seemed to decide, through coincidence rather than conspiracy, to enlist immigrants for their bounties. Perhaps some people cooperated in their own areas to recruit new arrivals by force, but evidence does not suggest an interstate plan to do so. The almost ubiquitous high bounties rendered such broad collaboration unnecessary, Murdock writes. Although legitimate groups such as the American Emigrant Company sought workers abroad, Finney’s labor recruiting in Ireland raised


suspicions about collecting immigrants' bounties. It was left to men such as Private Thomas Burke of the 20th Maine to encounter coercion in America.

There was a will, and there was a way, and there is a grave in Virginia.

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20 Burke’s burial in Virginia is unrecorded. Author’s telephone conversation with Tod Hunter, NA/US, January 1997. Burke was killed in action either on May 5, 1864, at the Wilderness in Northern Virginia, or on May 8, 1864, at nearby Laurel Hill. Many casualties were left on the field at the Wilderness, but the dead of the 20th Maine were to receive proper burial after Laurel Hill. See Portland evidence book, RG 110, E 467, NA/US; various documents in NA/I, C.S.O., R.P., 16765 (1864); Abbott Spear et al., eds., *The Civil War Recollections of General Ellis Spear* (Orono, Me.: University of Maine Press, 1997), pp. 94-97; Pullen, *The Twentieth Maine*, pp. 195-200; Theodore Gerrish, *Army Life: A Private’s Reminiscences of the Civil War* (Portland, Me.: Hoyt, Fogg, & Donham, 1882), pp. 175-178.
Among the many persons with some connection to recruiting in Ireland during the American Civil War, it is possible to trace what later happened to some of them. Two leading figures were Captain John A. Winslow, U.S. Navy, who was suspected of enlisting sailors in Queenstown in 1863, and Father John B. Bannon, the Confederate chaplain who campaigned against Union recruitment in Ireland. Captain Winslow still commanded the U.S.S. _Kearsarge_ when it defeated the C.S.S. _Alabama_ near Cherbourg, France, on June 19, 1864. After the war, he led the Gulf Squadron and the Pacific Fleet. Winslow retired from the U.S. Navy in 1872 as a Rear Admiral, then died in Boston in 1873.¹

After accompanying Bishop Robert Lynch of Charleston, South Carolina on his journey to Rome, Father Bannon joined the Society of Jesus in Dublin in 1864. Bannon served in St. Louis before the Civil War, but remained in Ireland when the fighting ended because the Drake Law in Missouri required former

Confederate chaplains to take an oath of loyalty to the U.S. Government. He passed away in Dublin in 1913 and was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery.²

Although Patrick Finney's Portland recruits occupied less prominent positions, their records outline their experiences as private soldiers in the Civil War. Thomas Burke was killed in action either at the Wilderness in Northern Virginia on May 5, 1864, or at Laurel Hill, Virginia, on May 8, 1864. The former date may be more likely, since Michael F. Byrne and Edward Cassidy were wounded in action on May 5 as well. Byrne was hospitalized in Augusta, Maine, then testified at the August 1864 hearings about the Portland recruiting case. He was listed as having deserted from a hospital in Augusta as of January 1, 1865. Wounded in one thumb, Cassidy went into hospital in Washington, D.C., then was considered a deserter when he failed to return in June 1864 after a furlough.

The Confederates captured another two Portland immigrants, James Higgins and Michael Moran, in Virginia on December 10, 1864. Higgins, who previously gave evidence at the August 1864 hearings, was paroled as a prisoner of war and given a furlough on his return to the Union Army in February 1865. He then served with his division's ambulance train, and appears on the June and July 1865 mustering-out rolls for Company D, 20th Maine. Paroled in February 1865, Moran got a furlough in March, and later was hospitalized. He was discharged on June 19, 1865, but it is not clear whether that meant from the hospital or from the service. Moran, like Higgins, is named on the two mustering-out rolls for Company D, 20th Maine.

The other two Finney men who were recruited in Maine, Martin Hogan and Thomas Tully, both testified at the August 1864 hearings about their enlistment. Hogan contracted phthisis after suffering from exposure in Virginia in March 1865. On May 29, 1865, he was discharged from an Army hospital and from the military as being totally disabled. Tully, who was promoted to Corporal on July 1, 1865, decided to continue in the service. Eugene H. Berwanger writes, “Tully reenlisted at the end of the war and served as a private at various Western posts until 1869. He entered a soldier’s (sic) home at Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1890, and died there in 1898.”

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